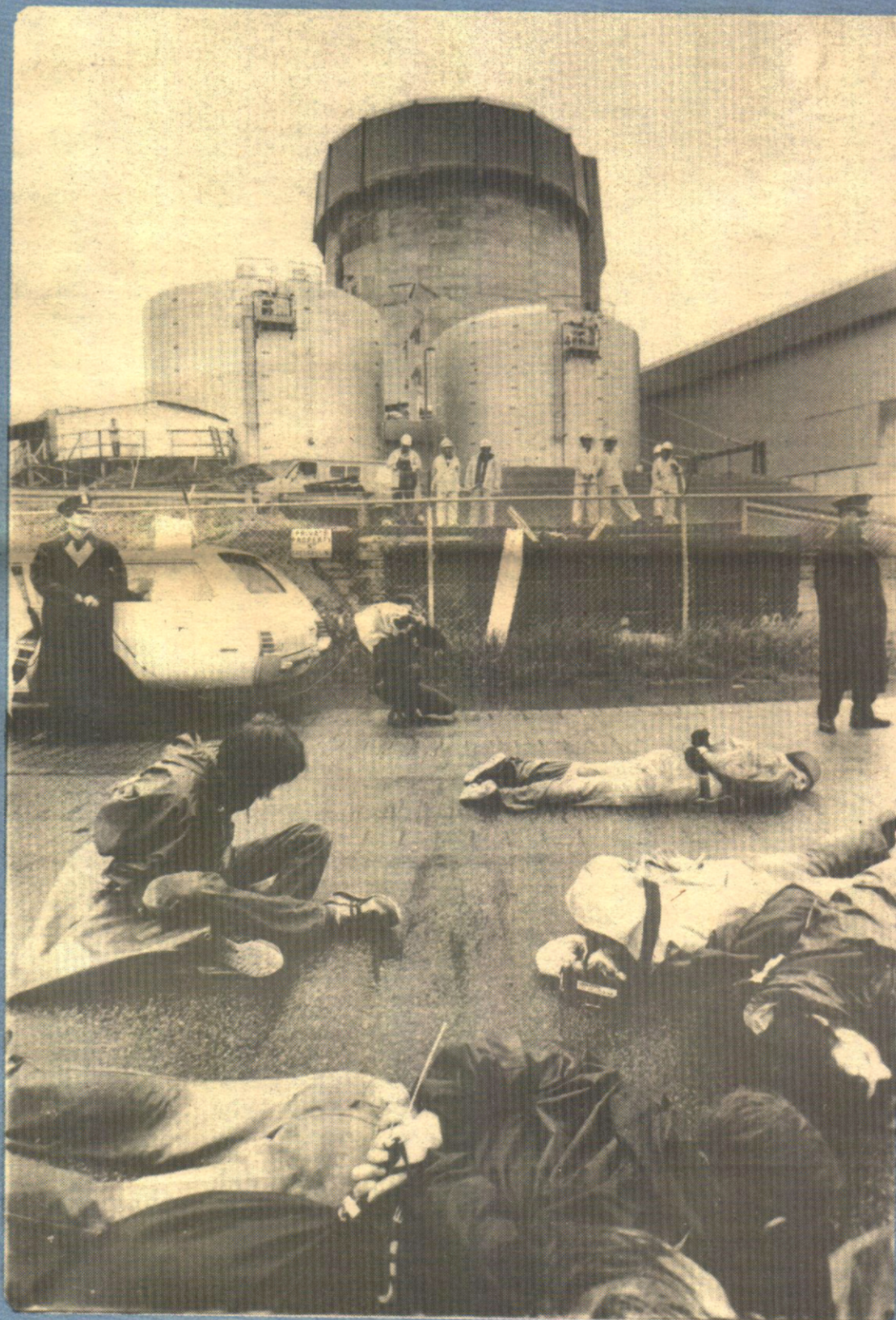




## NUCLEAR ARREST



PLUS

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*Bert Lance's fellow Georgians rally around him*

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*Women office workers organize*

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*Built on fear, Israel-Egypt peace will hold*

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# THE INSIDE STORY



## Spenkelink died, death penalty opponents grieved

By the Members of the Palm Beach Florida Citizens Against the Death Penalty

Twilight descended softly upon Starke, Fla. The air was sweet with blossoms and greenery; Spanish moss draped the lush trees and vegetation.

The two-lane road leading to the prison was lined with sheriff's deputies. We were stopped, given a pass that said "observer" and directed to a cow pasture. Florida State Prison was in sight.

The press was milling about. The police, night sticks in hand, seemed relaxed as they leaned against their cars. A small crowd of death penalty protesters had already arrived. A few gathered around a preacher who intoned Panhandle evangelism and professed John Spenkelink's redemption. His sound system pierced the somber dusk.

In less than 11 hours, two hooded executioners paid \$150 by the State of Florida would throw the switch and send 2,250 volts of electricity into the body of John Spenkelink. The crowd of demonstrators grew. As darkness descended, people lit candles. A sheriff's helicopter circled relentlessly overhead.

Busloads were arriving from around the state. Groups from Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, North Carolina and Tennessee joined the death watch. Among those represented were the American Civil Liberties Union, the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons, the Florida Clearinghouse on Criminal Justice, Florida Citizens Against the Death Penalty, Amnesty International, numerous church groups, members of the National Lawyers Guild, students from Florida State University and the University of Florida and friends and relatives of the prisoners.

Folks grouped into a close circle to listen to speakers. Some bore messages from John Spenkelink thanking us for our presence; others led us in prayer.

Billie Sue Alberts (her name has been changed to protect her privacy) has a grandson on Death Row. We talked together sharing a quiet moment away from the growing group. Every Saturday she drives to the prison to visit her grandson and others on the Row. Ms. Alberts spoke about another woman, the mother of a man on Death Row. Ms. Alberts told us the woman hitch-hikes to Starke from Jacksonville every week, a distance of over 60 miles. During her last visit, the woman requested a chair to sit on, instead of the backless stool the prison provided. She was told she could sit on the floor if she liked. The woman later collapsed from the

heat and lack of ventilation in the visitors' room. Ms. Alberts said the prison has since installed two small fans in the room.

Ms. Alberts' clear blue eyes clouded as we talked about another mother. Lois Spenkelink, aged and ailing, tried in vain to meet with Gov. Graham to plead for her son's life. Ms. Alberts faults the Governor for refusing to face Mrs. Spenkelink. "This shows the Governor does not have the courage of his convictions. He knows what he is doing is wrong," Ms. Alberts said.

Chants of "Death Row Must Go!" arose from the protesters. Time was running out but the cry was strident and strong. From inside the prison, shouts could be heard. The crowd outside the prison walls took up the rhythmic beat. For several moments, the expression of solidarity filled the air with force and hope. Throughout the night, chants and screams from inside echoed among the demonstrators.

The Reverend Joe Ingle, a minister with the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons, conveyed still another message of thanks from John Spenkelink. Rev. Ingle stressed John wanted the struggle against capital punishment to continue and urged us to show our support for those within the prison walls.

The words "Save John Spenkelink" were punctuated by clapping. From inside the prison, small fires and flaming sheets illuminated the cement walls.

It was close to 11 p.m. John Spenkelink was within eight hours of being executed. Still no word about a stay. Spenkelink's family, attorneys and friends looked tired and worn. The crowd, gathered in a close circle to listen to speeches, broke up into small groups. Some folks who came by bus from Jacksonville, Fla., and Dawson, Ga., sang gospel and civil rights hymns. Others sat on blankets meditating, praying and talking quietly.

From inside the prison, the chants and clamoring continued. A swelling number of students took up the cry. It was close to midnight. Hope ebbed, yet the chants persisted, angry and strong.

Several moments later, word was out: U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall issued a stay. Simultaneously disbelieving, jubilant and stunned, we felt we witnessed a miracle.

A little later, we left the cow pasture. Small fires and chanting continued from inside the prison as we drove off, leaving Starke and the gruesome night behind.

Fifty-eight hours later, John Spenkelink was dead.

### Spenkelink's last words.

Below is the text of a letter Spenkelink dictated to his attorney, Susan Cary, who said that Spenkelink had not finished but was cut off by the close of their visit.

*"My request for an interview has been denied. I am making this statement as my only means of communication. I have no request for any special meals or anything like that, but I'd like to see Gov. Graham or Attorney General Smith personally before my execution. And I'd like to have a contact visit with my entire family.*

*I've also asked to be allowed to have communion with my own clergyman and to have my clergyman present with me tonight.*

*I always had a lot of faith in this country and its leaders and its courts. I guess you'd have to say I've lost some of that now—not that I don't love this country. I do. I just find it hard to believe that there are people who would not or do not have the courage to face not only the issue of the death penalty, but the issue of discrimination as well—economic and racial.*

*I've learned a lot since I've been in prison, with all the reading I've had time to do. The things that we said in my legal papers were not just issues thought up by my lawyers. They had to do with the facts about the death penalty and discrimination in this country that I*

*can see, that I know about.*

*I would like Gov. Graham to come see me. It seems to me that if he is to judge me, he should know me. He cannot know me through papers or the words of my lawyers—that's just common sense. If he had investigated my case he would not be doing this. If he is so sure of himself, why is he so afraid to come here?*

*I know who I am. I know the changes I've made since being here, and I want him to know who he is killing—the real person, not some idea he has in his head about me.*

*In some ways, this has been rougher on my family than it has on me. However, the state may feel justified in punishing me. I do not understand why they cannot be more considerate of my family and their need to be with me right now. Maybe the hardest thing is to see my family suffer, to see my mother losing her health, to see the worry and pain on the face of my sister, her husband, Carla and the kids. I wish there was a way to spare them.*

*I don't know if I'll get a chance to make another statement, so I guess there are some things I'd better say now.*

*I want the people who have worked so hard to stop this thing—both in this country and overseas—to know how much I appreciate them, not only for their endless work but for being good people and sharing with me, for supporting me and holding up my family in these hard days.*

*I want them to know their friendship has been important to me. They know who they are. It helps me to know that they will keep on with this work no matter what.*

## "It isn't fair," says co-defendant

The execution of John Spenkelink tragically points up the freakish results of the death penalty's application. The murder for which John Spenkelink was convicted was committed in Tallahassee. A former Dade County Assistant State Attorney reportedly stated that, had the crime occurred in Miami, "he wouldn't have even waved at the electric chair." In fact, John Spenkelink was offered a plea to second degree murder, which he turned down. Spenkelink's co-defendant, Frank Brumm, remaining silent throughout the trial, was acquitted: Spenkelink took the stand, claimed self-defense and concealed Brumm's role. Later Brumm admitted his involvement. "I'll be honest; it isn't fair," Brumm is quoted in the *Miami Herald*. "If John had taken the stand and told the truth I would be in his situation...probably on Death Row," Brumm said.

John Spenkelink was one of ten condemned men who petitioned the Governor and Cabinet for clemency. Gov. Bob Graham declined to exercise clemency in the cases of Spenkelink and Willie Jasper Darden, who was scheduled to be executed one hour after Spenkelink. Darden was granted a stay by Tampa U.S. District Judge Terrill Hodges. To date, no action has been reported on the other eight. The governor has directed the Parole and Probation Commission to prepare the next ten for clemency.

A campaign of harassment against Death Row prisoners got off the ground last December with the construction of a wall to separate Death Row prisoners from their visitors. The floor-to-ceiling wall contains windows through which visitors look at their relatives in prison. Telephone outlets provide the only source of communication between the prisoners and their loved ones.

*Continued on page 8.*

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# Lance trial may help Carter

By Pat Watters

ATLANTA

**A**T FIRST SIGHT, THE INDICTMENT of Bert Lance on banking violation charges seemed but one more woe for the Carter presidency. But some reactions of fellow Georgians to the former U.S. budget director's plight suggest that the prosecution could backfire, and in the end benefit President Carter.

The present attitude in the state about its native-son President is one of disappointment, if not embarrassment, among his supporters, and "I told you so" glee among his detractors. But about Lance, resentment, even anger are commonly expressed.

Many Georgians were critical of the federal grand jury's investigation of the case taking so long—20 months in all. Either accuse him of something or get off his back, they said.

Then when the criminal conspiracy indictment came down, a lot of Georgians were shocked at the seriousness of the charges against Lance and three co-defendants. It seemed incredible that this leading citizen, former highly visible banker and close friend of the President stands the chance of going to jail for 95 years. That and/or be fined \$115,000 if found guilty of all 22 counts in the indictment.

Others indicted in the case are Richard T. Carr, former president of the Northwest Georgia Bank; Thomas M. Mitchell, former Northwest board member, and H. Jackson Mullins of Calhoun, Ga., a former Lance business partner. Charges against Lance include actions he took before resigning as president of the National Bank of Georgia (NBG) and the First National Bank of Calhoun.

The four are accused of making improperly secured loans to friends and family and themselves, allowing accounts to be overdrawn, and falsifying financial statements and bank records. In 218 overt acts, they borrowed more than \$20 million in 383 separate loans and 820 renewals of loans from 41 different banks, the indictment says—in effect, borrowing from Peter to pay Paul.

The indictment is highly technical and not easily understood by most Georgians. But ever since Lance was forced to resign from the Carter administration in September 1977 because of rumblings about how he ran his banks, the sentiment has been expressed here that he wouldn't be in trouble if he hadn't gone up there to Washington to try to serve his country. Lance himself, when asked a short time before the indictment came down where he would be today if he hadn't joined the Carter administration, answered ruefully, "I'm sure I would still be at the National Bank of Georgia, helping boost the state's economy."

## Atlanta Constitution defends Lance.

In an unusually long and angry editorial, the *Atlanta Constitution* compared the indictment to human-rights violations in Iran and Russia. It charged that an effort is being made to destroy Lance not only for political reasons, but also to soothe "the prosecution-induced media...in New York and Washington." The role of the national media was crucial, it went on. "The press pack, led by *New York Times* columnist William Safire, who was a member of the discredited and corrupt Nixon administration, demanded, without a single dissenting voice in Washington or New York, that Lance be indicted."

One of the co-defendants, Mitchell, raised yet another point, charging that bureaucrats, "like angry hornets" whose nest has been disturbed, were behind the prosecution out of resentment of Lance's short-lived attempt to reorganize the federal government.

What is likely to be major thrust of the defense in the case was expressed, with rhetorical flourish, in another statement Mitchell made to the press: "I cannot understand why banks in the South, particularly banks with agricultural-related loan portfolios collateralized by good, honest, conservative, Christian, Georgian farmers, can be of more national importance than the money-center banks in New York that have multinational loan portfolios, some of which are countries such as Iran who have publicly renounced their obligations."

## Us against them.

All of these responses build an us-against-them feeling that will likely appeal to a Georgia jury. And there is in Mitchell's latter statement the implication that in banking, as in other endeavors, we do things differently down here in the South. A person's reputation, even personality and, if you will, character are given larger consideration than, one gets the impression, in other parts of the country.

A personal reference is pertinent for perspective: A few years ago, a writer friend, native New Yorker, stopped over in Atlanta and while here asked my help in getting a personal check cashed. It was for several hundred dollars—no big thing. Confidently, I took him to the branch bank where I do business, not Bert Lance's bank but, rather, the most conservative in the city, and told the cashier I would cover my friend's check. She called a computer and reported that my account, sadly, wasn't up to the amount of the check. I said, well my line of credit will cover it. She dialed again and, embarrassed, had to tell me that it was woefully depleted. Then she directed us to an officer of the bank.

Without questioning anything, he grandly okayed the check to be cashed. He had seen me doing my penny-ante banking there for years, knew my face, knew my name as a local writer, and so figured I was a good enough risk. My friend from New York couldn't believe it.

Is this the sort of thing, on a grand scale, that Lance was doing? Language of a Securities and Exchange Commission suit against Lance, which ended last year, in a consent decree that Lance would sin no more without admitting that he ever had, provides a better insight than the indictment into the nature of the charges against Lance:

"Lance arranged for NBG and other banks located in northwest Georgia over which he had influence to make loans to certain relatives and others in order to pay down their loans and relieve overdrafts at Calhoun.... Supporting documentation at Calhoun for a number of the loans...[was] inadequate or nonexistent. Certain of Lance's friends were not in a position to repay the loans in an orderly and timely fashion without liquidation of a substantial portion of their assets."

Lance followed a practice of shifting such risky loans to other banks just before examiners were due, and resuming them after they left, the SEC charged. "The effect of this course of business was to misstate Calhoun's financial statements and inflate Calhoun's liquidity position..., thus concealing from the comptroller, its shareholders and the investing public the true nature of its financial condition."

Mitchell's inference is that this is just the Southern, personalized way of doing banking—basing loan judgments on reputation and character rather than going by the books. Certainly, Lance did not expect all the trouble he got into when he went to Washington, and this suggests that not only did he reason he was running his banks the way other Southern bankers do, but also that there was nothing wrong with it.

At the time of the alleged misdeeds,

The coming trial could generate sympathy for Lance as a victim of media overkill.



they would have merited a wrist-slap or, at most, civil actions. Criminal conspiracy cases against bankers for such offenses have been developed only in the past year. Four such cases have been tried—two in Florida and two in Wyoming—with convictions in three. The charge of criminal conspiracy alleges that violations of civil statutes were committed with intent to "endanger and injure banks," which the defendants controlled or influenced.

If Lance's loan judgments were, indeed, Southern-personalized ones, there is the suggestion that the method might not be so bad. The indictment speaks of "potential" losses resulting from questionable loans. It sets out actual losses of only \$500,000 in transactions involving \$20 million.

A Georgia jury is likely to give strong consideration to such a point—not to men-

tion the us-against-them aspects of the case, and not to mention also Lance's own reputation and personality, the latter magnetically charming.

Indeed, the forthcoming trial could generate a lot of sympathy, and not just in the courtroom, for Lance as a victim of media and prosecutorial overkill. There is much of that sentiment in Georgia already, and it could spread not just across the South, but to the rest of the country. And that sympathy might just possibly, along about campaign time, envelop also the man who appointed Lance in the first place, as part of an "outsider" crusade to straighten out the mess in Washington.

Pat Watters has long been an observer and writer about the folkways and foibles of the American South. His books include *The South and the Nation*.



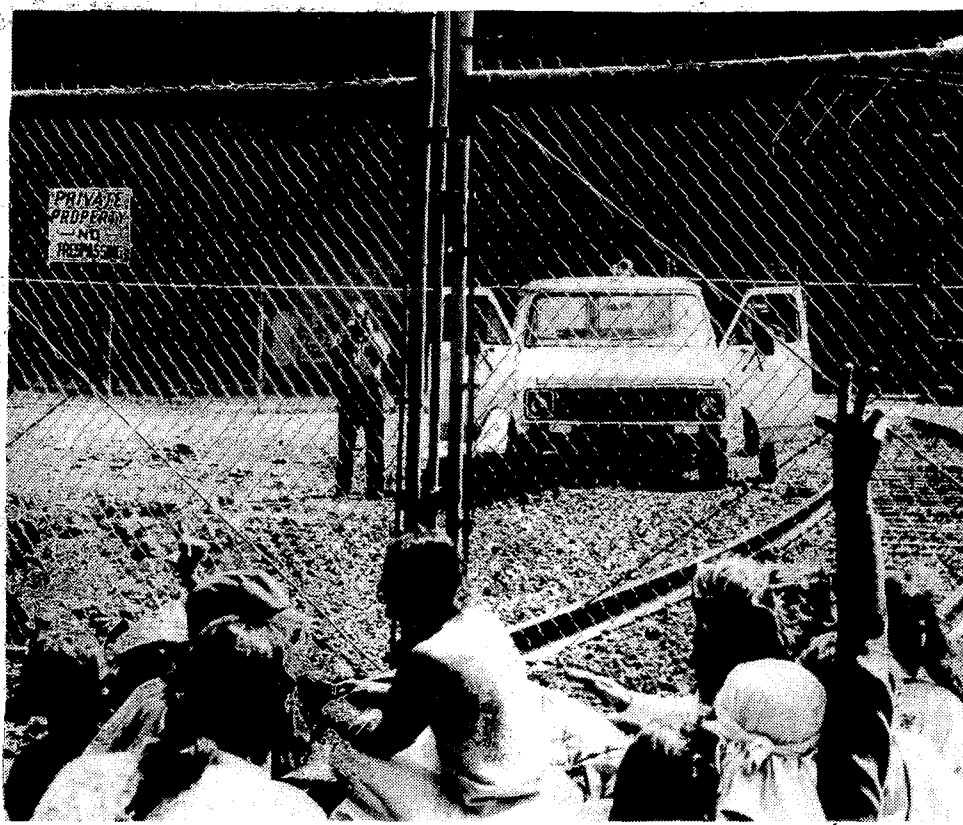
## IN SHORT

## Spies go after protesters

WASHINGTON—There is extensive evidence that members of the anti-nuclear movement are subjects of intelligence work conducted by non-federal agencies (state and local police), private security forces of power companies and private contractors, according to an article by Christine M. Marwick of the Center for National Security Studies monthly publication, *First Principles*.

The article highlights the similarities between the gathering of information about anti-nuke members with the surveillance of anti-war protest activities in the '60s.

Marwick says that from the evidence that has surfaced, there appears to be no improvement in the quality or type of information that is collected about individuals. Inaccuracies and fictions from unreliable sources are treated as if they are fact.



defends the spraying of toxic chemicals stating that protecting the state's paper and timber industry is worth the risk to the health and safety of the public.

Maine officials have urged everyone who can to evacuate the 3.25 million acres of forest land scheduled to be sprayed over the next 30 days. They particularly urge pregnant women, nursing mothers and young children to leave the area at once.

—Zodiac News Service

## New first-strike device up for approval

WASHINGTON—A new device that carries admitted first-strike capability is expected to be approved by the Pentagon next month. Navstar Global Positioning System, a constellation of 24 man-made navigating stars in the form of satellites will, according to Pentagon officials, revolutionize the techniques of warfare.

Lt. Gen. Richard C. Henry, commander of the Air Force Space and Missile Systems Organization, which is supervising the project, said the implication of Navstar are staggering. "The strategic and tactical doctrine of our fighting forces will be rewritten," he said.

This program, if approved, will affect the tank driver, foot soldier, warship skipper, and the fighter pilot. The satellites will let them know exactly where they are and the location of a landmark they are looking for, within 30 feet of any place on earth.

The navigating stars could give unprecedented accuracy to U.S. missiles, according to military leaders, but this aspect of the system is being downplayed because of the political problems it raises. Called "first strike" capability, U.S. missiles could hit within 30 feet of Soviet missiles, crack their protective silos and prevent the Soviet missiles from firing.

The satellites, each costing \$12 million, carry atomic clocks so accurate, the Air Force says, they would lose only one second in 30 thousand years.

The four Navstar test satellites that are now flying in space at an altitude of 10,900 miles, will be followed by 24 operational satellites, if approved by a Pentagon review panel.

Air Force Col. Donald Henderson says it would take an estimated \$2 billion to put the 24 Navstar satellites into orbit between now and the mid-'80s and to build ground stations to communicate with them.

## NATION

### High court rules for abortion benefits

WASHINGTON—In two important decisions last week, the Supreme Court digressed from what has become a hard conservative line. In an abortion matter and in a civil liberties matter, the Court decided for pro-abortionists and for civil libertarians.

In the first case, the Court refused to deny the petitions of two Chicago physicians who were attempting to block the state funding of abortions for women on welfare. The two physicians, Dr. Jasper Williams and Dr. Eugene Diamond, had received an injunction on April 30 from the U.S. District Court against state funding for any but "medically necessary abortions."

The Court refused, requiring the state to pay for most abortions until the legal issues raised by the Hyde Amendment are straightened out. This leaves at least a year for abortion proponents to move against the Hyde Amendment, which considerably reduces the circumstances under which women on welfare can receive free abortions.

In the second case, the Court decided in favor of William Turner, an employee at New York's Kennedy International Airport, who challenged the right of his union to expel him for advocating the overthrow of the government. During a union election in which he was running for shop steward, Turner called for the overthrow of the U.S. government and the destruction of all capitalists. A union committee voted to reinstate a rule, now largely dead in most unions, that permits the suspension or expulsion of members who advocate these sentiments, and voted to expel Turner. In a period of rising militancy in the unions, this decision is viewed as a welcome one.

### Supreme Court sets back prisoners' rights

WASHINGTON—"Prison inmates have no constitutional guarantee of being released on parole," the Supreme Court held last week.

In a major setback to prisoners' rights, according to American Civil Liberties Union attorney Alvin Bronson, the court held that there are no procedural safeguards for inmates seeking parole afforded by the Constitution.

Bronson dismissed the due-process procedures that the Supreme Court required of the specific Nebraska statute at issue. He said, "The minimum due process the

high court gave Nebraska inmates is really no due process, since the state parole board does not have to tell a prisoner what is in his file, what evidence was relied on to deny parole or give advance notice of his hearing."

Programs such as furloughs, work release and applications for presidential pardons will be affected.

Bronson, who filed a friend of the court brief, said the Court's action would reverse the states' trend away from secrecy in parole deliberations.

### Women sue State Farm

SAN FRANCISCO—A \$10 million class action suit was filed in District Court this month against State Farm Insurance Company and its subsidiaries for allegedly discriminating against women in their hiring and training programs for sales agents.

The suit, filed on behalf of all female applicants and potential applicants for sales agent trainee posts in California, says that qualified women were barred from those positions by State Farm's sexually discriminatory employment policies and practices.

The plaintiffs, Muriel E. Kraszewski, of Long Beach, and Daisey O. Jackson of Palo Alto, both presently employed as sales agents for Farmers Insurance Co.,

brought the suit against State Farm citing its refusal to recruit them as sales-agent trainees using the same criteria that applied to male applicants. In addition, the plaintiffs stated that State Farm discouraged them from applying for such positions and, in Jackson's case, discharged her as an agent-trainee using a different standard than the one used to evaluate male performance.

State Farm, the nation's largest underwriters of home and automobile insurance employs more than 3,000 people in California.

Women occupy fewer than 2 percent of the 1,500 State Farm sales agent jobs in the state, according to the suit, yet they make up 50 percent of the work force in the insurance industry.

### Trees are more important than people

MAINE—The U.S. District Court denied an injunction sought in Maine to stop a pesticide program designed to spray three million acres of land with toxic chemicals. The court refused the injunction on the grounds that it did not have jurisdiction because it was state rather than federal money involved in the project.

Joseph Brennan, governor of Maine,

## WORLD

### Vorster resigns in 'image-making' scandal

SOUTH AFRICA—South Africa's president John Vorster resigned in disgrace when his role in a multimillion dollar scheme to improve his nation's image was revealed this week.

Vorster, prime minister for 12 years, was accused by an investigatory commission appointed by the state, of attempting to cover up the government scandal.

The subject of the commission report, presented Monday to Parliament, was a secret fund of \$60 million to \$120 million to improve South Africa's image in the world with media support that was monitored from the outset by Vorster while he was prime minister.

Vorster, 64, a key drafter of South Africa's apartheid policies, resigned as prime minister in October claiming ill health as the reason.

The report officially confirmed a series of revelations that a top-secret intelligence team had for six years operated a worldwide propaganda campaign that involved political maneuvering, blackmail and cover-ups. A major expenditure of the secret fund, says the report, was a loan of more than \$11 million to Michi-



gan publisher John McGoff to purchase the *Washington Star*, the *Sacramento (Cal.) Union*, and a half share in UPI-TN, a television news firm based in London operated in conjunction with the United Press International News Service.

McGoff's attempt to purchase the *Star* fell through, according to the report, but South Africa funds transferred through a Swiss bank were used by McGoff to make the other purchases.

### Commando squad attacks musicians co-op

BRITAIN—A coalition of black and white activists, protesting Britain's self-styled Nazi party, The National Front, ended in what is being described as a "police riot."

*Melody Maker*, a British publication, reported that London's elite Police Commando Squad broke up a peaceful demonstration in the middle of London's Southall District, by galloping through the protesters on horseback and randomly attacking people in their paths.

The police, according to *Melody Maker*, concentrated their attacks against the headquarters of "Southall Musicians Co-operative," a group of black and white musicians, by smashing instruments and sound equipment inside their offices. More than 300 persons were arrested and three people were hospitalized in critical condition.

Benefit concerts for the Musicians Co-op to help replace destroyed equipment, have been organized by a number of British musicians, including the Who's Peter Townshend.

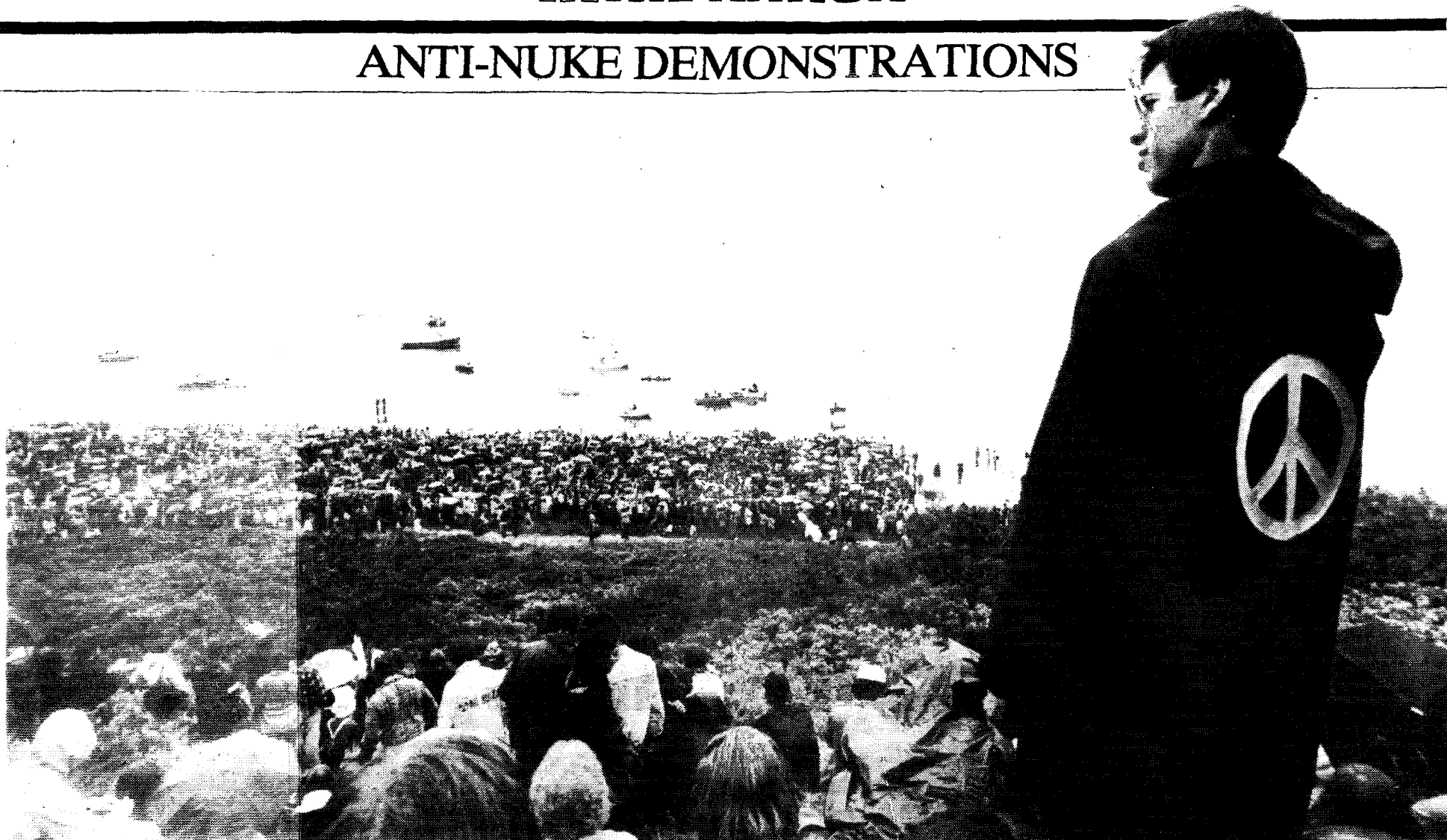
—Zodiac News Service

IN SHORT is written by Laura Cianci unless otherwise indicated.



# IN THE NATION

## ANTI-NUKE DEMONSTRATIONS



Demonstrators from all over the New York City region flocked to the rain-soaked beach outside the still incomplete Shoreham nuclear power plant to protest its opening in 1981. About 600 were arrested as they scaled the barbed wire fence erected by the company to prevent entry to the construction site.

# Protests put industry on the defensive

By Florence Hamlish Levinsohn

**T**HE LEADERS OF THE AMERICAN nuclear power industry, meeting in Atlanta last week, were running scared. For years the accidents at their plants had been closely guarded secrets. But the accident at Three Mile Island finally blew their cover.

The world-wide protests and the largest demonstrations in this country since the '60s forced the government to act against the nuclear industry after years of extraordinary government protection.

"The nuclear industry is being Vietnamized," Dr. Alvin Weinberg of Oak Ridge National Laboratories, Oak Ridge, Tenn., told his fellow members of the American Nuclear Society. "Unless the Vietnamization ceases and is turned around, it would be difficult for the nuclear enterprise to expand and [it] could diminish," Weinberg, a leading industry figure, warned his colleagues.

But the "Vietnamization" of the nuclear industry is spreading like wild fire across the country, and across the world. Again last weekend, thousands of demonstrators poured onto the sites of nuclear plants to chant, "Hell no, we won't glow."

In the wake of earlier protests, the Congress enacted a moratorium that so far only applies to six plants, but which could be amended to delay further construction of any plants (See *ITN*, June 6). The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, long a sidekick of the industry, has been forced by public opinion to look more carefully at the safety of the plants now in operation and may yet close some down.

And Congress may well force the nuclear industry out of business by forcing it to assume full liability for its accidents instead of continuing the federally-subsidized liability it has been able to get away with in the past (See page 6).

Carter's reaction to the massive demonstration on May 6 was similar to Johnson's and Nixon's reactions to the demonstrations against the Vietnam war. But the pressure of the demonstrations on the press and the Congress in having response similar to that of the '60s pro-

tests. More and more people in those establishments are being forced to the awareness of the dangers and are taking responsible roles.

The two days of demonstrations last weekend drew thousands to plants in nine states and in Canada, Japan, Spain, West Germany, France and Portugal. Hundreds were arrested in the U.S. as they charged past the gates to enter the well-guarded grounds of plants in Louisa, Va.; Madison, Ind.; Moscow, Ohio; Rowe, Mass.; Inola, Okla., and other sites throughout the country. The largest demonstration was in Shoreham, N.Y., where 600 went to jail after climbing over a barbed-wire fence to enter the plant grounds (See accompanying story).

And in Tudelo, Spain, where some 2,000 demonstrators were protesting the construction of a \$1 billion U.S.-supplied plant in Lemoniz, Ladi del Estan Terreno, a 24-year-old woman, was shot in the head and killed when a civil guard fired a sub-machine gun into the ranks of the protesters.

Since the Vietnam war, no issue has united the international left as the anti-nuclear issue is now doing. In Germany, some 8,000 people demonstrated against a plant in Kalkar, West Germany, and 3,000 turned out for a rally at a plant site in Brittany, only one of several rallies in France.

These are well organized protests. When 100 arrests took place at Louisa, Va., after the protesters entered North Anna plant property, the organizers said that those arrested had been trained in nonviolent civil disobedience and had agreed beforehand to be taken into custody without resistance.

Across the country, people trained in nonviolent resistance techniques developed in the South in the '60s but based on early Gandhian political tactics sustained arrests in order to make their point: no more nuclear power.

In Russellville, Ark., demonstrators wearing black arm-bands gathered at the Nuclear One plant to ask operators to shut down the plant voluntarily. About a dozen were arrested.

In Oklahoma, at the unfinished Black Fox station 17 miles west of Tulsa, the police arrested 500 who marched to with-

in 300 yards of the planned nuclear reactor core site.

Others gathered in parks and places adjacent to plants to listen to speeches denouncing nuclear power. In Michigan City, Ind., protesters marched from the downtown area to a park where James Balanoff, Chicago area director of the United Steelworkers, District 31, told the crowd, "No one can be neutral about nuclear power anymore. Nuclear power is not the way of the future. It is the way of death, disease, and poverty." Balanoff was protesting the construction of a plant adjacent to the huge Bethlehem Steel Company in Burns Harbor, Mich.

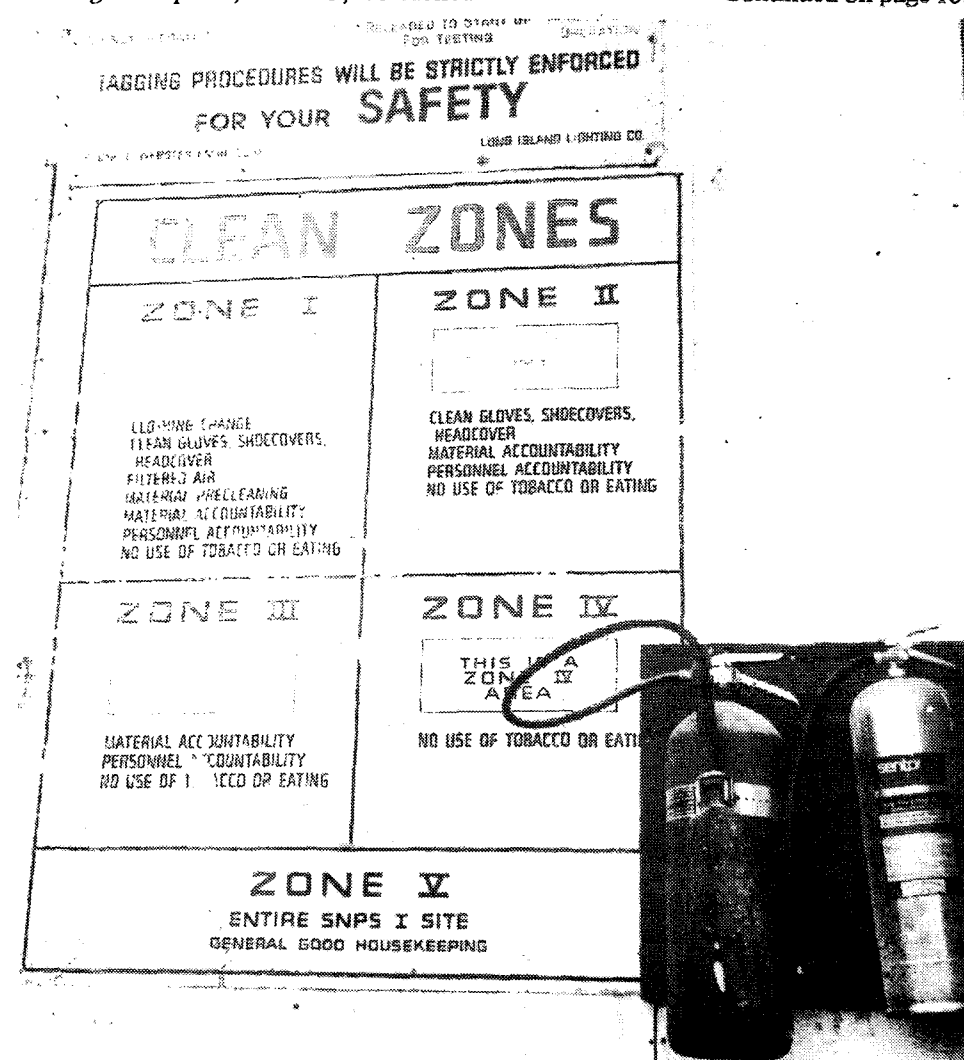
In Plymouth, Mass., near the site of the Pilgrim I plant, about 5,000 turned

out for the Clamshell Alliance rally to listen to speeches and dance to rock bands.

But, while there was dancing and speech-making at several sites around the country, the majority of the actions here and abroad were more direct. At the Darlington, Ont., nuclear generating plant in Canada, five people parachuted into the grounds of the plant to join 69 of their comrades in being arrested for trespassing. In the isolated rural town of Rowe, Mass., another group of 21 were arrested for blocking the entrance to the Yankee Atomic plant.

The techniques of nonviolence are not new to the anti-nuke movement, but they are spreading swiftly across the country.

Continued on page 18.



Safety precautions for "clean zones" on reactor building at Shoreham plant.



## MISSISSIPPI

# The United League forces end to arrests

**Okolona blacks are holding weekly marches to win jobs and stop harassment.**

By Robin Schulberg

OKOLONA, MISS.

**A**T 11 A.M. ON JUNE 5, FOLLOWING two successful "Marches for Justice" led by the United League of Mississippi, Deputy Sheriff Hanso Rogers shot and killed Leander Carouthers, a 19-year-old black inmate in the Chickasaw County jail in Okolona, Miss. Rogers claims he fired the .357 magnum bullet that hit Carouthers in the face as the prisoner attacked him with a knife.

The United League, a ten-year-old grass-roots organization based in rural northern Mississippi, says the killing was "unnecessary." The League planned a march for Saturday, June 9, in protest.

Rogers has a reputation among local blacks for his vocal opposition to the movement against discrimination that has been building in the area for the past year and a half. Donald Pack, League coordinator for Chickasaw County, was among several who heard Rogers threaten to "kill me a nigger" as he fired his shotgun into the air to stop an April 14

demonstration. The entire march of 150 was subsequently arrested.

Since then, the United League has turned the tables on the Okolona city government. League president Alfred "Skip" Robinson announced bi-weekly marches to continue, arrests or not, until the city accedes to demands for a black voice in education and affirmative action hiring.

After a second mass arrest on April 28, the League marched May 19 and June 2 without police interference. On June 2, Robinson delivered a warning to Deputy Rogers, who stood watching the League rally from across the street. "It's a good thing Hanso shot into the air," Robinson said in reference to the April 14 incident. "Otherwise, he wouldn't be standing there today."

A federal judge dismissed all charges stemming from mass arrests on April 14 and 28. Now the United League is suing the city of Okolona for \$200,000 for violation of First Amendment rights. Over a busload of League members attended the opening session of the trial June 1, in Greenville, Miss., and planned to fill the courtroom again when the trial continued on June 12.

In addition, the federal government recently cut off funds to Okolona for education and city construction. Blacks have been boycotting the high school to protest the disproportionately low number of black teachers and the high suspension and expulsion rate of black students. Only a small percentage of federal construction funds have been allocated for black neighborhoods, with almost all lighting and paving improvements made in white sections of town.

The United League, which first gained



United League members and supporters marching in Okolona, Miss.

national attention for its boycott movement and militant confrontations with the Ku Klux Klan in Tupelo, Miss., a year ago, sees Okolona as a particularly "tough town to crack." The League called a boycott of Okolona stores last September after the Klan ambushed several of its members. In response to the first League march

that fall, the Klan burned down a black-owned gas station. Until last week, police arrested black picketers on a daily basis.

According to some observers, the shooting of Carouthers is a frustrated reaction to the recent United League victories.

## UNEMPLOYED UNIONISTS

# Independent Union is organized in New York

By Josh Martin

NEW YORK

**D**EEP IN THE HEART OF Queens, that most bourgeois, most white of New York's five boroughs, over 600 largely black representatives of left-wing labor, civic and civil rights groups met June 2 at a posh dining hall to inaugurate Ted Taylor as first president of the National Federation of Independent Unions.

Taylor's inauguration marks the consolidation of a three-year effort by labor and community activists to form a new type of union whose goal is to organize the unorganized.

The structure of the NFIU is designed to embrace not only traditional trade union members, but those of consumer unions, tenants unions, welfare and unemployment unions as well. In short, as the NFIU makes clear in its statement of purpose, it has been created to make the necessary link between economic and political activity.

By reaching out to embrace civic as well as labor organizations, the NFIU's founders seek to raise the political importance of community groups "functioning in a coordinated fashion with progressive trade union organizations."

The NFIU is being forged, according to its leaders, in a period when the real economic gains of labor and minority groups made during the past two decades are being rapidly eaten away by inflation and political apathy in Washington.

Its definition of the working class is what separates the NFIU in practice from the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters, and most other trade union groups, which have concentrated on the industrial sector, a spokesman said. The NFIU has called for the inclusion of welfare recipients, unemployed workers, domestics, tenants and parents, and public service workers (e.g., under CETA), etc. Many of these workers (some estimate as high as 50 million) are unrecognized under existing legislation; their jobs are not covered by the National Labor Relations Board.

In his inaugural speech, Taylor, a former organizer with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, offered a challenge to the trade unions. In the past, he said, unions "failed to organize society in its totality. They didn't realize the need to exercise power politically as well as economically."

NFIU organizers separate themselves from trade unions whose organizing consists of "robbing" workers from



Ted Taylor, first president of the newly formed National Federation of Independent Unions.

other unions. Instead, it seeks to organize the 80 percent of the American work force that is presently unorganized.

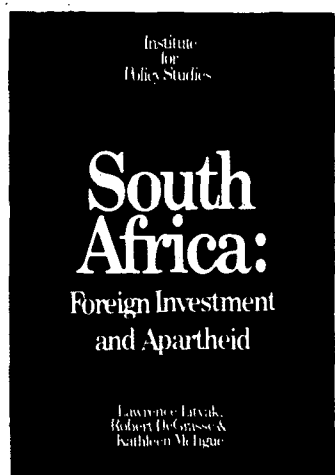
They are currently conducting organizing drives among low-paid industrial workers in southern New Jersey, CETA workers in Philadelphia and New Jersey and tenant unions in Queens. Most of NFIU's membership derives from its affiliation with the New York City Unemployed and Welfare Council.

"We need a commitment for a union that takes the second step, providing economic and political might to overthrow a class that has too long been in power," Taylor told the audience. "We need a scientific strategy and analysis of who and why we're fighting. The [working] class must be awakened to overthrow that which oppresses them and install a new system in its place."

"Representatives of the ruling class teach you to honor misleadership," Taylor said. "We've got the qualifications [to lead]. We've had them for a long time. We must forge a group of independent poor and working people's unions and associations into one powerful weapon to protect them from the power of the large corporations. We must lead the people into battle, organize them in a way that control of society will come into their hands."

At the dinner, awards were given to six people for their commitment to labor and civil rights. Among those honored were Conrad Lynn, veteran civil rights lawyer; Neter Brooks, a black mother of 13 who is the new president of the New York City Unemployed and Welfare Council; Bronx councilman Gilberto Gerena-Valentin who founded the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights, and Lennox S. Hinds, past national director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

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## GAY POLITICS

## Gay/black ties fray in post-Milk era

By Michael Singer

SAN FRANCISCO

**I**N A CITY THAT GAVE RISE TO THE first gay political bloc in the country, the murder of national gay leader Harvey Milk and the surprisingly light manslaughter conviction of his assassin, Dan White, have left gays feeling vulnerable, isolated and leaderless.

Since the Nov. 27 assassination, the gay community has been divided over where to go politically, whether to continue with the Milk legacy and seek coalitions with other minority groups, or to focus exclusively on gay rights issues.

"There's always been an assumption that because we're all gay we're all the same," said Harry Britt, a close friend of Milk's and his successor on the Board of Supervisors. "But there's a lot of us. We're a diverse community trying to figure out where we fit in this world, and we're coming up with different answers."

The full impact of Milk's loss on the San Francisco gay community may emerge in the coming months, as debate over political direction intensifies. Now, with growing antagonisms between gays and police, and after the violence following the news of White's light sentence, a new issue has arisen: whether to oppose what many see as systematic violence against them with counter-violence.

How gays here receive their political divisions may help chart a course for the gay movement nationwide. Meanwhile, hostility against gays has surfaced more frequently from minority groups.

"We felt the tragedy of the killings but it involved their world, not ours," said the Rev. Hector Lopez, executive director of the Joint Strategy and Action Commission of Northern California. "Deaths occur in our world which never get media attention. We father with a large family was killed in an inner-city district the other day. All the City Hall excitement seemed just like something on television. It didn't affect us."

Harvey Milk had tried to build coalitions between gays and other minorities. He began his political career as a single

With Harvey Milk dead, San Francisco's large gay bloc debates his vision of an alliance of all victims against discrimination.

issue gay leader. But while in office, he began to see the interests of gays as part of a larger pattern of social and economic injustice. He then took on real estate speculation, as well as race and age discrimination.

In a memorial speech for Milk delivered shortly after his assassination, Britt called the gay supervisor a "prophet," and likened him to Martin Luther King.

But many San Francisco blacks were insulted by Britt's comparison, and the equation of sexual freedom with a struggle for social justice.

Since Milk's death, antagonism between blacks and gays has grown, fueled by real estate speculation by wealthy gays in traditionally black neighborhoods.

As one black politician put it, "Those gay folks are growing very insensitive for a minority. Well, let me say that the more money they get, the more insensitive they get. They can't come in here and take away our homes and ask us to vote for their civil rights. They say we're in the same boat; if we can't live in the same neighborhood, how are we in the same boat?"

The issue was amplified in a recent editorial in *Newsnotes*, the paper of San Francisco's Third World Fund: "Many gays are involved in exercising white male privileges at the very time they are claiming to be members of an oppressed group." Ida Strickland, who heads the Third World Fund, also charged that the gay community offered no support to defeat the death penalty initiative, which blacks view as racist, last November, though blacks overwhelmingly rejected the initiative that would have banned

homosexuals from public school teaching.

In addition to the racial antagonisms, the gay movement confronts deep internal contradictions. "There's not one group that has ever had it all together, and gays are even more divided because we cover all economic strata and racial and ethnic groups," Milk once observed.

The interests of the more conservative and middle-of-the-road elements are often represented by *The Advocate* newspaper.

"I reject the idea that the gay rights movement should broaden its vision," said associate publisher Peter Frisch. "I think it should be narrowed even more. When you broaden, taking in old and poor people or racial minorities, you diminish your chances to gain any specific victories."

The more progressive elements in the gay community take issue with the *Advocate's* position. "The issue for the gay movement now is simple," argues San Francisco gay teacher Tom Amiano. "It is whether we are going to ask for a bigger slice of the pie or a different pie altogether."

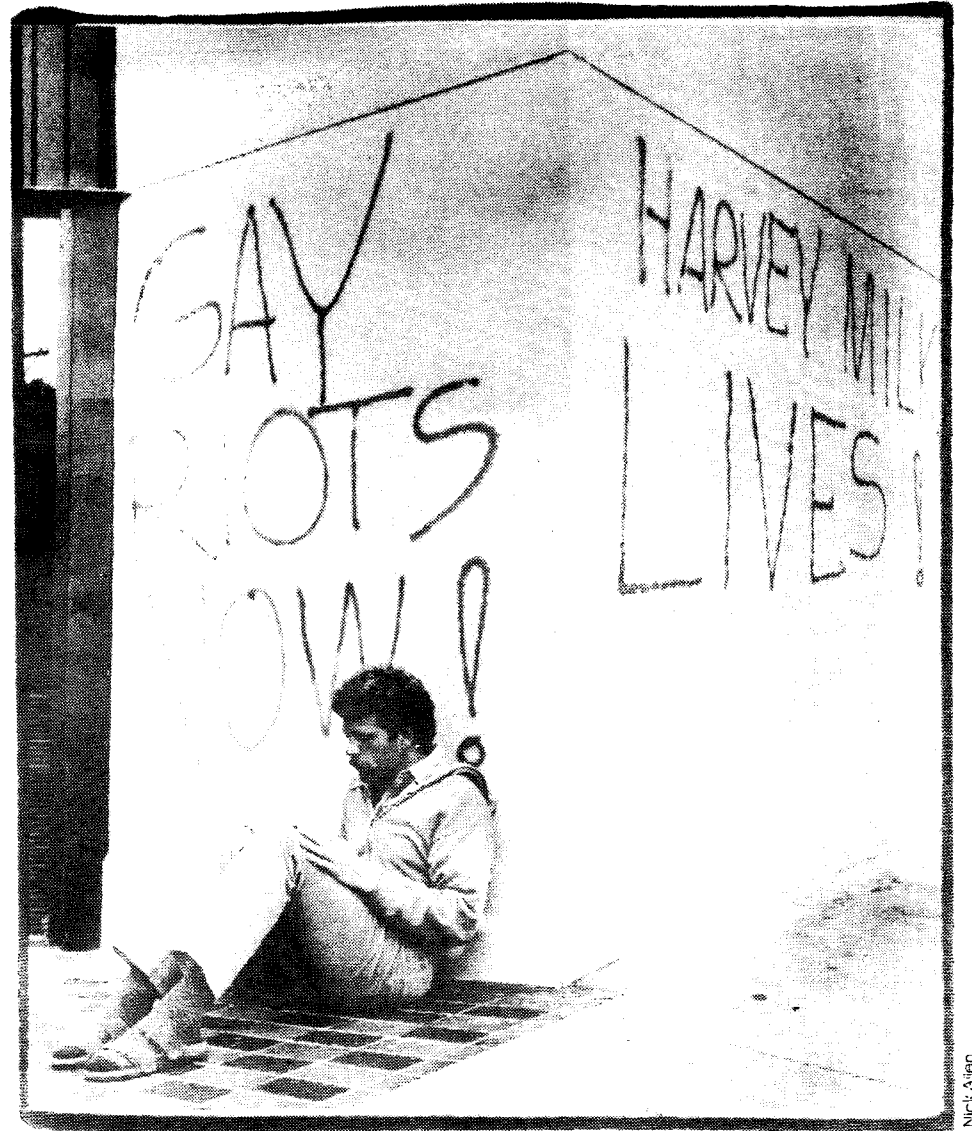
"The fact is that Dan White made the connection between gays and other progressive movements," Amiano says. "He killed a straight progressive man (Mayor George Moscone) and then he killed a faggot. Any gay person on the street will tell you that Milk got it in part because he was gay. But that isn't all. Milk and Moscone were fighting White's conservatism on all kinds of issues, including racism and discrimination against the aged."

Last June, Milk spoke before 250,000 people at a Gay Pride demonstration in San Francisco. Announcing his plans for a National Freedom Day, Milk said, "I call upon all minorities, especially lesbians and gay men, to wake up from their dreams, to gather in Washington where, over a decade ago, Martin Luther King spoke to a nation of his dreams, dreams that are fast fading, dreams that to many millions have become nightmares."

"Wake up, America!" Milk said, "No more racism, no more sexism, no more ageism, no more hatred. No more!"

It is still not clear who will respond.

(© 1979 Pacific News Service)



Nick Allen

## Gay leader seeks change in campaign disclosure

By Eric Leif Davis

PITTSBURGH

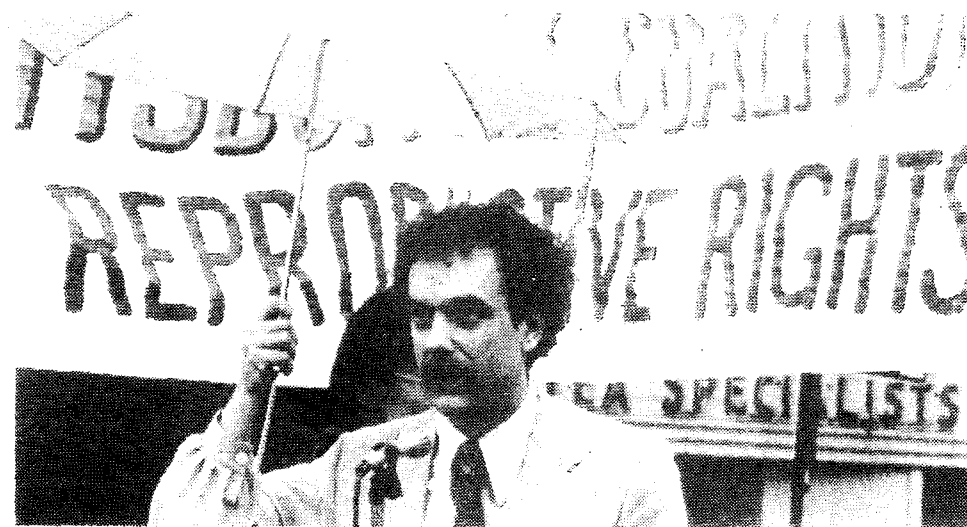
**R**ANDY FORRESTER HAS GROWN accustomed to the spotlight. Long ago Randy came out of the closet as an avowed gay and became well known in Pittsburgh's gay community as Executive Director of Persad Center, Inc., a counseling and psychiatric service for "sexual minorities." As he himself put it, "I'm the most well-known and longest-term gay activist in the city."

All of which made Forrester a logical choice to become the first openly gay political candidate in Pennsylvania history.

On May 15, Randy packed up an impressive vote total of 21,000 votes (10,000 in Pittsburgh alone) in the Democratic primary as a candidate for Allegheny County Commissioner. Randy was the fifth-highest vote-getter out of 13 candidates with two being nominated. Local observers termed it a surprising showing for a first-time candidate.

Randy's candidacy began in early January when a group of Pittsburgh area gays and feminists gathered to discuss the Commissioner's race. Randy explained that there had been a "general insensitivity from that office" which directly affected the members of that group.

Randy's campaign, however, was greatly inhibited by a lack of funds. "We



ran an exceedingly low budget campaign," he said. "It was an uphill battle; we spent only about \$5,000. Fund raising was greatly hampered by the state's reporting law. We probably raised only half of what we could have raised without the law."

The new Pennsylvania campaign spending law, which went into effect Jan. 1, requires very strict reporting of contributors. Anonymous contributions cannot be accepted. The name and address of every donor of \$10 or more must be reported. In addition, the occupation and employer of every donor of an aggregate of over \$250 must also be reported.

"Basically, I endorse the law," said Randy. "That's why our suit, which is currently before the State Supreme Court,

is not asking to overturn the law. We're willing to file the names of people willing to be listed. We'll file the number of contributions and amounts and we'll file the necessary expense reports. But, we're asking for an exemption for those not willing to be listed."

In *Buckley v. Valeo*, the 1976 U.S. Supreme Court case against the federal campaign reporting act, which is very similar to the Pennsylvania act, the high court established that there would be times when, in a specific campaign, the reporting of contributors would be harmful to those contributors. Therefore, individual exemptions from the law would be provided in those cases.

Since then, the Socialist Workers Party,

represented by the American Civil Liberties Union, has obtained a blanket exemption because they have been able to prove in court that the SWP has been the target of a massive and long-term campaign of government spying and harassment.

"So," explained Randy, "we are saying gays have a history of discrimination, which is provable, and therefore the exemptions should be provided in this case as well."

The American Civil Liberties Union agrees with Randy's position and has filed the suit in Randy's behalf. The ACLU believes that the case has national implications because it is the first suit of its kind and will affect election laws in all other states where the issue of gay candidates has not previously been accommodated.

In both the SWP case and in Randy's case, the ACLU opposes forced disclosure because it would chill the political expression of minority groups. In these situations, it says, significant personal jeopardy is involved, since such disclosure would subject gays and those supporting gay civil rights to physical harassment and economic reprisal.

Although a decision is expected almost daily from the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, Randy agreed that it is no longer directly affected his campaign.

"But," he said, "we are in the business of setting precedents. It'll be that much easier for the next gay candidate because we fought this particular battle."

Annette Albrecht



## NUCLEAR POWER

## Special nuclear subsidies challenged

By Josh Martin

NEW YORK

**T**HE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES is now considering a bill that, short of outright condemnation, would effectively shut down most nuclear power plants in the U.S. The bill, amending the Price-Anderson Act of 1957, would remove the Act's \$560 million compensation ceiling, making atomic plant licensees fully liable for claims resulting from a nuclear incident.

The bill, the Nuclear Incident Liability Reform Act, HR789, introduced by Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY), has gained support from House liberals, particularly after the accident at Three Mile Island revealed the inadequacy of liability coverage. Basically, as Weiss points out, the \$560 million limit is a federal subsidy of the nuclear industry, enabling power plants to obtain nominal insurance, without any relation to the actual costs of a mishap.

Recently released studies by insurance industry researchers indicate that the Price-Anderson provisions are "unique." The Act currently allows plants to open with a three-part insurance package: private coverage (about \$140 million per plant on the average), and a formula that currently establishes a \$310 million industry pool and a \$110 million federal guarantee. In addition, as angry Pennsylvanians learned, the act places a 20-year statutory limitation on claims resulting from a nuclear accident. Thus, by the time second-generation deformed babies are born and increased outbreaks of cancer occur, the plant and its owners and insurers are no longer liable.

"There is no other legislation like it,"

Weiss said, "treating an industry in such an easy fashion, allowing it to get out from under its normal responsibilities."

The constitutionality of these unique industry protections was upheld by the Supreme Court last June, prompting the drafting of the current amendments, that would waive the statutory limit and stipulate that each plant licensee "obtain the maximum coverage available from private insurers." The amendments would allow use of federal funds "only in the event of a major catastrophe," where claims exceeded the private coverage.

The Weiss amendments, originally co-sponsored by nine members of the House, now have over 30 supporters, including Reps. John Conyers (D-MI), Ron Dellums (D-CA), Elizabeth Holtzman (D-NY), Abner Mikva (D-IL), Louis Stokes (D-OH), and Charles B. Rangel (D-NY). The legislation is now before Rep. Morris Udall's Subcommittee on Energy and Environment, and hearings are expected to be held within the next few months.

Support for the Weiss amendments is not limited to liberal congressmen. Indeed, one of the original co-sponsors was none other than Hamilton Fish (R-NY), one of the most conservative members of the House. "We don't see why liability should be partial or why the taxpayer should underwrite it," a close aid to Fish said. "It should be liable just like any other industry.... It's the only industry in the world where stockholders are protected from the bad judgment of management. The only persons who are losing (under this arrangement) are the consumers."

Just how much the public may be losing is a matter for debate. But it has been suggested that had there been a meltdown at Three Mile Island, property damage alone would have been as high as \$14-

\$17 billion, for which only \$560 million would be paid under present legislation.

If nuclear energy is indeed as safe as its proponents maintain," Weiss observed, "then the nuclear industry should be able to convince private insurers to write policies in excess of the current \$140 million average amount. Atomic energy advocates should also be willing to back up their claims of a nearly infallible energy source by financing a pool to cover the costs from

an accident which they regularly describe as 'almost impossible.'"

Insurance companies, however, have never accepted the nuclear industry's odds charts. Passage of the original Price-Anderson Act altered the odds. Without federal underwriting and liability limitations, insurers would be compelled to charge such high premiums that, as one industry source noted, "no plant could afford to stay in operation a week."

## Florida execution

Continued from page 2

Prison officials, under the authority of Department of Corrections Secretary Louie Wainwright and prison superintendent David Brierton, say the wall is necessary to provide security. Inexplicably, contact visiting was eliminated only for those Death Row prisoners whose appeals have been affirmed by the Florida Supreme Court.

Gov. Bob Graham has indicated that he thought other alternatives to the wall could be found, but he has not ordered its removal. He said the prison officials are aware of his feelings but that he does not believe in interfering in agency decisions. In its brief on a suit involving the wall, the Attorney General's office said the wall is "merely one step in the process of carrying out a death sentence—the total elimination of a person from the life of their loved ones."

Equally foreboding is the bill now before the Florida House that would substitute lethal intravenous injections as the method of carrying out capital punishment after Sept. 1, 1981. The Senate passed the bill 37 to one; Sen. Jack Gor-

don (D-Miami) dissented, voicing his opposition to the institutionalization of capital punishment. Attorney General Jim Smith is pushing for the bill's passage. Lethal injections would facilitate large numbers of executions in a manner believed to be more palatable to the people of Florida. Similar bills have been legislated in Texas and Oklahoma. Before its recent resurrection in the U.S., the procedure was last used in Nazi Germany.

In the wake of John Spenkelink's execution May 25, Rep. Bill Sadowski (D-Miami), a death penalty opponent, attempted to debate the state's death penalty on the House floor. House Speaker Hyatt Brown reportedly dissuaded Sadowski, fearing House members would applaud and cheer the execution, making a spectacle before the people of Florida.

Several days before Spenkelink was executed, 87 members of the House signed a petition in support of Gov. Graham's death warrant-signing posture. In response to the petition, Graham stated that executions would be "a routine part of daily life from now on."

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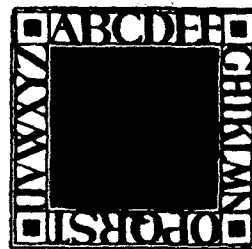
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## IN THE WORLD

## ITALY



Italian Communist leader Enrico Berlinguer (right) and Premier Giulio Andreotti (left) cast their ballots in the national election last week.

# In its confusion, Italian left stumbles

By Diane Johnstone

R O M E

**I**T COULD HAVE BEEN WORSE. THAT was the widespread reaction in the Italian left to the June 3 parliamentary elections. Everyone knew that voters were going to punish the Italian Communist Party (PCI) for three years of compromises with the ever-ruling Christian Democrats (DC) that let down hopes for change aroused by the PCI's big gains in 1976. The PCI slumped to 30.4 percent of the vote for the Chamber of Deputies (slightly to the left of the less important Senate, kept conservative by a voting age set at 25 instead of 18), compared to its June 1976 peak score of 34.4 percent, losing 26 of its 227 seats in the 630-seat body.

In the poor, underdeveloped south, the PCI lost much of the new "hope vote" it had picked up in recent years, dropping over seven percentage points in Naples and some Sicilian cities. It fell five points in Turin (picked up by the Radicals and the far left) and over three points in Genoa and Milan, but otherwise its losses were relatively slight in the traditional communist strongholds of the prosperous north. Workers tended to put aside their virtually unanimous disgust with the mistakes of Enrico Berlinguer's "Historic Compromise" to come to the aid of their party as it headed for sure defeat.

But there was no general shift to the right. Much of the lost PCI vote obviously went to Marco Pannella's eccentric Radical Party, which tripled its 1976 showing to score 3.6 percent nationwide, making it the only clear winner. Otherwise, party strength remained remarkably stable.

The Christian Democrats failed to make the gains forecast by pollsters and barely held their own with 38.3 percent, down from 38.7, losing one seat. Thus they apparently did not pick up any "sympathy vote" from the fact that the Red Brigades have been "campaigning" against them by shooting up their headquarters and party officials from time to time.

Indeed, Italian voters seemed completely unimpressed by terrorism. Fears that terrorist attacks might strengthen the right proved unfounded, as the neo-fascists fell back from slightly above to slightly below 6 percent, losing five seats. Lost DC and neo-fascist votes apparently went to the smaller center and center-right "lay" parties—Liberals, Social Democrats and Republicans—whose modest

gains reflected calm in the middle classes.

The Socialist Party (PSI) picked up five seats, but its share of the vote crept up only slightly, from 9.6 to 9.8 percent. Disgruntled Communist voters obviously did not heed PSI leader Bettino Craxi's argument that the Italian left must be "rebalanced" in favor of the Socialists. Craxi is now approaching the small "lay" parties, preparing to try to drive a hard bargain with the DC for a share of power.

His position is fairly weak, but he did the Christian Democrats a big favor with his long campaign against the PCI's "Leninism," making it easier for DC leaders to go back to their old "ideological veto" of Communist participation in government without seeming to be taking orders from Washington. The trick now is to find some sort of center-left coalition that won't look just like past, discredited center-left coalitions. Craxi is justifying his desertion of left unity (which won't sit well with all PSI voters) in the name of "governability."

Polls had forecast that the far left, wracked by splits and regroupings since it barely made it into parliament in 1976, and too poor to campaign visibly, would be wiped out this time. It was thus a happy surprise for the PDUP (Democratic Party of Proletarian Unity) of Lucio Magri and Luciana Castellina to find themselves with 1.4 percent of the vote and six deputies, thanks mainly to Milan workers hostile to the "Historic Compromise." PDUP is the most fervent advocate of union of the left, and its spokeswoman Lidia Menapace said the group's first task would be to "prevent the PSI from going into a centrist government."

A second far left group, the United New-Left (NSU), a remnant of the old Proletarian Democracy (DP) group farther than the PDUP from the PCI and closer to the newspaper *Lotta Continua*, got 0.8 percent of the vote and no seats. Altogether, the left—defined as the PCI, the PSI, the far left and the Radicals—got 45.8 percent, compared to 46.6 percent three years ago.

This is not too bad a showing at a time when the whole European left is in the doldrums. It is reasonable to conclude that the Communists lost votes to their left rather than to their right—and to abstention, which rose to 9.6 percent from only 6.6 percent in 1976.

## Left weary of "strategies."

The Italian left is still there, but increasingly weary of talk of "strategies"—its

own or its enemies'—that never seem to lead anywhere. Exasperation with "strategy" and the concessions it entails helps account for the appeal of the Radicals.

Pannella's party is a multi-issue collection of single-issue activists held together to some extent by their charismatic leader, but more significantly by a contemporary sensibility common to sophisticated minorities in all advanced western nations. Radicals are for free abortion, homosexual rights, legalized marijuana, the abolition of national boundaries and all other obstacles to individual freedom. They are against violence, the draft, military courts, nuclear power and political repression, which they are quick to spot most everywhere. Radicals "do their own thing" with no ideology or program. "We don't have a program and we don't want one," abortion activist and Deputy Emma Bonino said during the campaign. "Election platforms are bullshit."

Italians find Pannella's approach exotic, a hybrid of Abbie Hoffman and Doctor Spock, perhaps, imported from California. In any country, such activists could expect to outrage conservatives by their "permissiveness" and publicity-seeking "antics" such as sitting gagged through 20 minutes of TV time to illustrate their contention that the media muzzles free speech. In Italy, they arouse even greater aversion on the left, especially in the PCI. After all, if the causes defended by the radicals have so far been liberal ones approved by the left, disruptive tactics by a small group could be used just as effectively to less appealing ends. Mass action by the working class is the only assurance against eventual right-wing manipulation. So the argument runs. Communists call the Radicals "narcissistic," "self-indulgent," "exhibitionist," "clowns" and even "fascists."

A lot of Italian Communists see their primary mission as bringing orderly democratic institutional life to a country they consider to be in a frightful mess. Pannella adds to an already rich confusion, and offers no solutions to major social and economic problems.

In the last parliament, while the PCI was soberly trying to play by the rules, a mere four Radical deputies managed to disrupt normal business on behalf of their crusades with 648 speeches, 19 motions and 471 challenging interrogations, not to mention hunger strikes and other less parliamentary procedures. Communists note gloomily that the fresh contingent of 18 Radical deputies will have enough

people to sit on all the committees and create constant turmoil, paralyzing and discrediting democratic institutions. They are already paralyzed and discredited, Radicals retort.

## Pannella no fascist.

Communists express concern that a movement with a charismatic (and demagogic) leader without coherent ideology or class position could veer towards some new form of fascism. But a "fascism" based on anti-militaristic libertarian non-violence is a monster that even the fertile Italian political womb might have trouble bringing into the world.

Pannella's individualistic clan are light years away from Mussolini's uniformed thugs. The real problem for the PCI is not so much what Pannella and the Radicals might turn into but what they already are—a new pole of attraction drawing young people and intellectuals away from the PCI with a new type of intransigent activism diametrically opposed to PCI methods and which delights in putting the PCI on the spot.

The most telling example was last year's referendum on the Reale law, a piece of repressive legislation strengthening police powers that had been opposed by the PCI when it was passed in 1975. The Radicals collected enough signatures to call a nationwide referendum to repeal it.

The referendum came up shortly after DC chairman Aldo Moro was murdered by the Red Brigades. The PCI was trapped into a situation of "damned if you do, damned if you don't." If the Communists voted to repeal the Reale law, they would be accused by Christian Democrats of favoring Red Brigade terrorism by depriving the police of means to fight back. If they voted to keep it, they would be accused from the left (and from parts of the right) of seeking to turn Italy into a "Gulag."

PCI leaders chose the second course, and instructed their members to vote to keep the Reale law in order to save the "Historic Compromise" with the Christian Democrats. They acknowledged that the thing to do was keep it and then improve it by amendments later on.

Many Communists could not bring themselves to vote for the Reale law, while others did so with a heavy heart. The law was kept, the promised amendments never saw the light of day—and the "Historic Compromise" was not saved. Such are the demoralizing incidents that led to the PCI's defeat at the polls. ■



## EUROUNIONISM



President Wim Kok of the European Trade Union Federation.

# Hungry for jobs, European unions push 35-hour week

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**T**HE 35-HOUR WORK WEEK IS emerging as the main battle-cry of the European labor movement. Meeting in Munich in mid-May, the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) set full employment and 10 percent reduction of work time without salary loss as top priorities for the next three years. Besides the 35-hour week, the ETUC decided to back demands for a sixth week of annual leave, full retirement benefits at age 60, lengthening of obligatory schooling through age 16 and any other measures which, it is hoped, may ease pressure on the labor market.

The ETUC's new president, Dutch union leader Wim Kok, told the Munich Congress' closing session on May 18 that job redistribution through reduction of work time was an "absolute necessity." He called mass unemployment a deadly threat to democracy. Those hardest hit are women, young people, the handicapped and immigrant workers, he noted.

Kok asked whether societies were really democratic when citizens who have constitutional rights to express their political views nevertheless see their very existence threatened by economic pres-

**Cold-war politics linger in the major Confederation, but there are signs of a thaw and openings to French Communists as unionists face trauma of industrial slump.**

sures outside their control.

The six-year-old ETUC has attracted more attention than usual this year because its policies generally coincide with those of the socialist and social democratic parties of the nine European Economic Community countries in their campaign for the June 10 European parliamentary elections. But the organization does not, in fact, correspond to the EEC. It groups 31 confederations, with a total of 40 million members, from 18 west European countries. Missing are three major communist-led confederations: the French CGT, the Spanish Workers Commissions and the unified Portuguese confederation—all three the largest in their countries.

(The Italian communist-led CGIL, however, is an active member in good standing.) Up to now, the CGT has been black-balled by its small French rival, Force Ouvriere (a CIA-backed cold war creation) and by the powerful West German Trade Union Confederation (DGB).

On the other hand, French Democratic Labor Confederation (CFDT) secretary general Edmond Maire spoke in favor of letting the CGT in. The Congress set up a committee to define membership criteria and report back in a year. The outgoing ETUC president, DGB leader Heinz Oskar Vetter, was fiercely opposed to admitting the CGT. His Dutch successor is calmer about the communist threat and said that membership applications would be considered in the light of the willingness shown by the applicants to go along with ETUC programs already adopted.

Kok said pointedly that any enlarging of the ETUC should strengthen its cohesion, activeness and harmony, an apparent hint to the CGT to be on its good behavior to overcome German objections that the communists only want to join the ETUC to wreck it.

The CGT was slow to take the hint. The French Communists, more immediately interested in being elected to the Europarlament as foremost defenders of French national sovereignty, raised a hue and cry when Vetter, opening the ETUC Congress, called for transferring some powers to the ETUC and gradually limiting national sovereignty in union action. (Vetter also denied that the Germans were trying to force other Europeans into their mold. "One of the most unfortunate slogans has no doubt been 'the German model' which has flourished in my country in recent years," he said.)

Harmony and cohesion in the ETUC are fragile at best. Simultaneous translations blur the debate between unionists who not only don't speak the same language but have quite different problems and outlooks. For example, the Scandinavians, who have so far been spared serious unemployment, are unenthusiastic about shortening the work week. In time of recession, they would rather concentrate on protecting their considerable social benefits than risk imperiling them by reducing the productive base carrying welfare costs.

Eagerness to cooperate varies. The Italians (notably Communist union leader Luciano Lama) are the most enthusiastic internationalists, in the ETUC as in the EEC, along with the Germans and the Benelux representatives. At the other end of the spectrum are the British, who, according to continental Europeans, "lack international consciousness."

"They're here because they have to be, but they don't feel it," Edmond Maire said. Maire said that labor leaders from Latin countries, used to speaking in terms of the working class, find it odd to hear the Anglo-Saxons insist they speak only for their members. This outlook leads them to press vigorously the demands of their constituency while showing little interest in exploring general policy questions in search of compromise.

The ETUC expressed solidarity with Third World demands for a new economic order, but Kok acknowledged that the means of putting this solidarity into practice were distinctly limited. He also recalled that Europeans "partly owe our own well-being to the injustices of this worldwide system." But in the current economic phase, as old industries such as textiles and steel are moving to the Third World to profit from cheaper labor, the injustices and inequalities of the worldwide system are being turned against the living standards of workers in developed countries. The labor movement in advanced countries is caught between the prospect of real long-range solutions that it lacks the means to bring about, and the temptation of short-term defensive measures.

"Unemployment in our countries is not caused by the developing countries since worldwide employment is not a limited pie to be sliced up," Maire said in his speech to the Congress. "On the contrary, the unsatisfied basic needs throughout the world everywhere call for a job-creat-

ing dynamic—a new type of development opposed to waste of human and material resources."

But what is to spur such a new type of development? Shortly before the ETUC Congress, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt reportedly quarreled sharply with members of his cabinet over whether development aid creates jobs in Germany. Stressing that Germans must look out for themselves, Schmidt flatly turned down pleas from Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher and Development Aid Minister Rainer Offergeld to increase German aid ahead of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Manila. Presented with figures indicating that increased development aid could safeguard some 60,000 German jobs, Schmidt snapped that thanks to exporting technology, steel is now being refined everywhere, throwing German steel workers out of work and ruining the industry.

German unionists contradict Schmidt. "We think on this question he is absolutely wrong," the DGB spokesman for North Rhine Westphalia, Andreas Schlieper, said in an interview. "First of all, aid is a matter of international solidarity. Second, the wealth of the West comes from exploiting the Third World. Third, we don't believe that aid creates unemployment."

Schlieper belongs to a younger generation of German trade unionists influenced by the spirit of the '60s. In contrast to the older, cold warrior generation, ever on the outlook for Communist plots, he is anti-authoritarian in his attitudes, sensitive to feminism, alarmed over the dangers of nuclear power.

Unlike the older DGB leaders, Schlieper believes there is such a thing as Eurocommunism. "We must help the Communist parties in Italy and France open up," he says (but he sees no hope for the Communist Party in his own country). Although the DGB is officially against letting the CGT into the ETUC, Schlieper's personal opinion is that "we can't ignore the biggest and strongest union in France." (He and other German unionists have noticed that their favored French ally, the CFDT, tends to be more "radical" and unreliable at the base than the CGT. Informed sources say secret DGB-CGT negotiations are underway.)

Schlieper's region includes the old industrial heartland of Germany, the Ruhr valley, whose coal and steel industry is in drastic recession. There are no growth industries in the Ruhr, hardly any chemical or electronics, he said, and the strict environmental zoning laws that preserve the region's green spaces and breathable air would make it practically impossible to put new industries there even if investors wanted to, which they don't.

A major issue in Germany now, termed the *Zumutbarkeit* problem, is whether or not to force the unemployed, especially highly educated young people, into jobs well below their professional qualification. The DGB says no—which is also an indirect way of protecting the jobs of West Germany's 1.7 million foreign "guest workers" who are doing most of the hard and menial labor Germans no longer want to do.

Schlieper said the current economic crisis was shaking the foundations of the "social market economy" launched in West Germany in 1948, which promised workers both higher wages and more social justice. "Now we are being told that capitalism cannot provide both, that we must choose one or the other. We must either accept this logic or change the system."

Given the industrial slump, a highly qualified work force and unmet social and cultural needs, the obvious sensible solution would be to enforce the social services sector of the economy. This at least, is the way things look to most European labor economists. Compared to the sweeping changes that seem necessary to deal with the economic crisis, the 35-hour week is a very small and inadequate measure. But it has the advantage of being simple and clear enough to unify and mobilize the European labor movement.



## MIDDLE EAST

# Fear and weakness over peace treaty may make it work

By Arthur Hertzberg

**A**CCORDING TO CONVENTIONAL wisdom, the peace between Egypt and Israel is doomed to failure because it is built on the fragile pillars of weakness and fear.

Certainly the latter half of that statement is incontestable. But what the conventional wisdom has never accepted is the equally indisputable fact that peace in the Middle East has never been made by the strong.

When American had power to burn, it regarded the Middle East as a side show and refused to invest the energy that was required to push either Egypt or Israel to the peace table. It was only when President Carter stood at the brink of diplomatic failure that he was able to trade effectively on the weaknesses of both Israel and Egypt to forge an agreement.

President Sadat's weakness was the knowledge that he might fall from power soon, unless he could give his people some glimmer of hope. The peace has achieved that. For tens of millions of Egyptians today, there is at least a vision of a better future, especially since American aid will be forthcoming in much larger measure than before.

Sadat's weakness spilled over onto Begin. He could not afford to be charged with the fall of Sadat, either at home in Israel, or in America. Moreover, the economic situation in Israel, with inflation running at over 60 percent a year, is such that, as an Israeli cabinet minister said to me the other day at brunch, "the very eggs we are eating depend on the Americans."

In the last stages of the negotiations, when there was some momentary fear it would fall apart, Washington talked of abandoning both Egyptians and Israelis to their fate, and of finding ways to defend the Saudi oilfields without either of them, or even without the Saudis. Obviously, the American government was afraid of a Middle East swept further by Iran-style instability. To avoid so cheerless a prospect was worth the billions in additional aid for Egypt and Israel.

Will this peace last? It definitely will. The possibility of large-scale military action by the Egyptians against Israel is now removed. An open border does not lend itself to effective secret mobilizations of the kind that preceded the surprise attack of the Yom Kippur war.

For the next three to five years, even if the cast at the top changes, Egypt and Israel will, at worst, be hurling statements and not bombs at each other.

Peace, even a grudging peace, traps the major forces in the Middle East, despite themselves, into dealing with the West Bank. The history of the last 30 years is that of an Israeli-Arab war every six to ten years. The aftermath of war, or a rising tension towards it, repeatedly made it possible to put off the Palestinian question. Now, almost six years after the war of 1973, there is peace tension, rather than a rising war tension. Short-run games may and will be played around American election time next year, or in preparation for Israeli elections the year after, but they are side-shows. The meaning of the Egyptian-Israeli peace, regardless of how one parses the verbiage in the documents, is that the West Bank and the Palestinians are inevitably next on the agenda.

For this purpose, Begin is the best of all possible prime ministers of Israel. The Labor opposition, which is more liberal in ideology, in fact presents much less of an opportunity for the Palestinians. Shimon

Peres, the leader of the opposition in Israel, believes in "territorial compromise," that is, in redividing the West Bank with Jordan—never mind that Jordan does not seem eager for such a solution. The Palestinians who, at their most moderate, are willing to settle for a state of their own in the West Bank and Gaza, can take little comfort from a suggestion that Israel redivide these territories with Jordan. Begin, who does not want to give any of them away, has at least taken the step of suggesting autonomy within the whole region (to be sure, exclusive of East Jerusalem, which Israel has formally annexed). Begin's definition is not acceptable to the Palestinians, but it is at least a basis for argument and for political action.

What, indeed, would happen if in a year or so a West Bank autonomous authority started to assert itself beyond the limits that Israel thought proper? Would Israel dissolve the autonomous body, or would it, by fits and starts, negotiate and learn to live with it?

The PLO and almost all the Arab states—both rejectionists such as Iraq and terrified ones such as Saudi Arabia—are now united in denouncing the Egypt-Israel accords. If this holds, it will effectively debar any change in the West Bank. But it cannot hold.

The bus towards autonomy might drive off in a couple of years without the PLO. The PLO cannot be certain of its power to veto permanently, by threat and shoot-



## Autonomous authority on the West Bank will grow and be accepted by Israel and the PLO.

ing, any candidates for election in the West Bank. There are indications that the PLO, despite its public rhetoric, is afraid, and that it is already preparing itself to take part, through surrogates, in the West Bank autonomy and to push it as far as it can.

Gen. Dayan, Israel's foreign minister, who has always been at least six months ahead of everyone else, has already declared (and suffered only a mild reprimand from Begin), that peace cannot be made without the participation of the Palestinians. He very clearly meant to include at least major elements of the PLO, and he is preparing Israel for such a prospect.

Three weakened politicians have made an agreement, which now has a life of its own. Despite their rhetoric, and their quotation and re-quotation of the prophet Isaiah, this peace is short on ideals and long on pragmatism. It is a product of fears—and thus it will live.

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## NEPAL

# Democracy threatens Nepal

*King Bihendra has been forced to call a referendum on a parliament.*

By Patrick Lacefield

**N**EPAL, SANDWICHED STRATEGICALLY between India and China, governed by an arbitrary monarch, has recently had mass protests for democratic rights. Observers wonder just how long King Bihendra can ward off dissidents' growing strength.

"We want to maintain the monarchy as a stabilizing influence," explained opposition leader B.P. Koirala, leader of the moderate socialist Nepali Congress Party, told *ITT* from house arrest in the capital of Katmandu.

Koirala, one of the Third World's leading champions of democratic socialism and pluralist democracy, served as prime minister of Nepal from May 1959 to December 1960. He and the Congress Party assumed office following King Mahendra's declaration of a constitutional monarchy and the country's first elections, which gave an absolute majority to Koirala and Congress.

The task confronting Koirala's government was formidable. Per capita income in Nepal was (and still is) less than \$70 a year, life expectancy less than 40 years and the ratio of population to physicians over 40,000 to one. Illiteracy stood at 90 percent and the economy centered mostly around subsistence agriculture, which employed 93 percent of the workforce.

Koirala's efforts to move this society into the 20th century roused the ire of the king who, in the last days of 1960, dis-

missed the cabinet, dissolved parliament, banned all political parties and assumed the powers of government himself. King Mahendra then set up a system of legislative bodies known as *panchayat* to replace parliamentary democracy. The system places nominal power in local elites and the Back-to-the-Village National Campaign, with real power concentrated in the monarchy and a coterie of advisers.

When B.P. Koirala arrived back in Nepal last year after his third trip in two years to the U.S. for throat surgery, the Back-to-the-Village Campaign bused 6,000 "volunteers" to the airport to stage a black-flag demonstration. The 65-year-old Koirala, jailed by the British during the Indian independence movement for four years and by Mahendra and his 33-year-old Harvard-educated son and successor Bihendra for almost a decade in the '60s and '70s, had returned from the U.S. to face charges of sedition and treason.

Remanded to house arrest in Katmandu, Koirala was declared a "prisoner of conscience" by Amnesty International. Leaders of the Socialist International (to which the outlawed Nepali Congress Party belongs), including Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky and Felipe Gonzales spoke out for his release. Although Koirala was subsequently acquitted on five of seven charges against him, he still stands accused on two counts of treason. Two of his co-defendants, Congress activists Y.B. Thapa and B.H. Shrestha, were executed in March by the king.

Those executions, along with protests against the execution of former Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto,

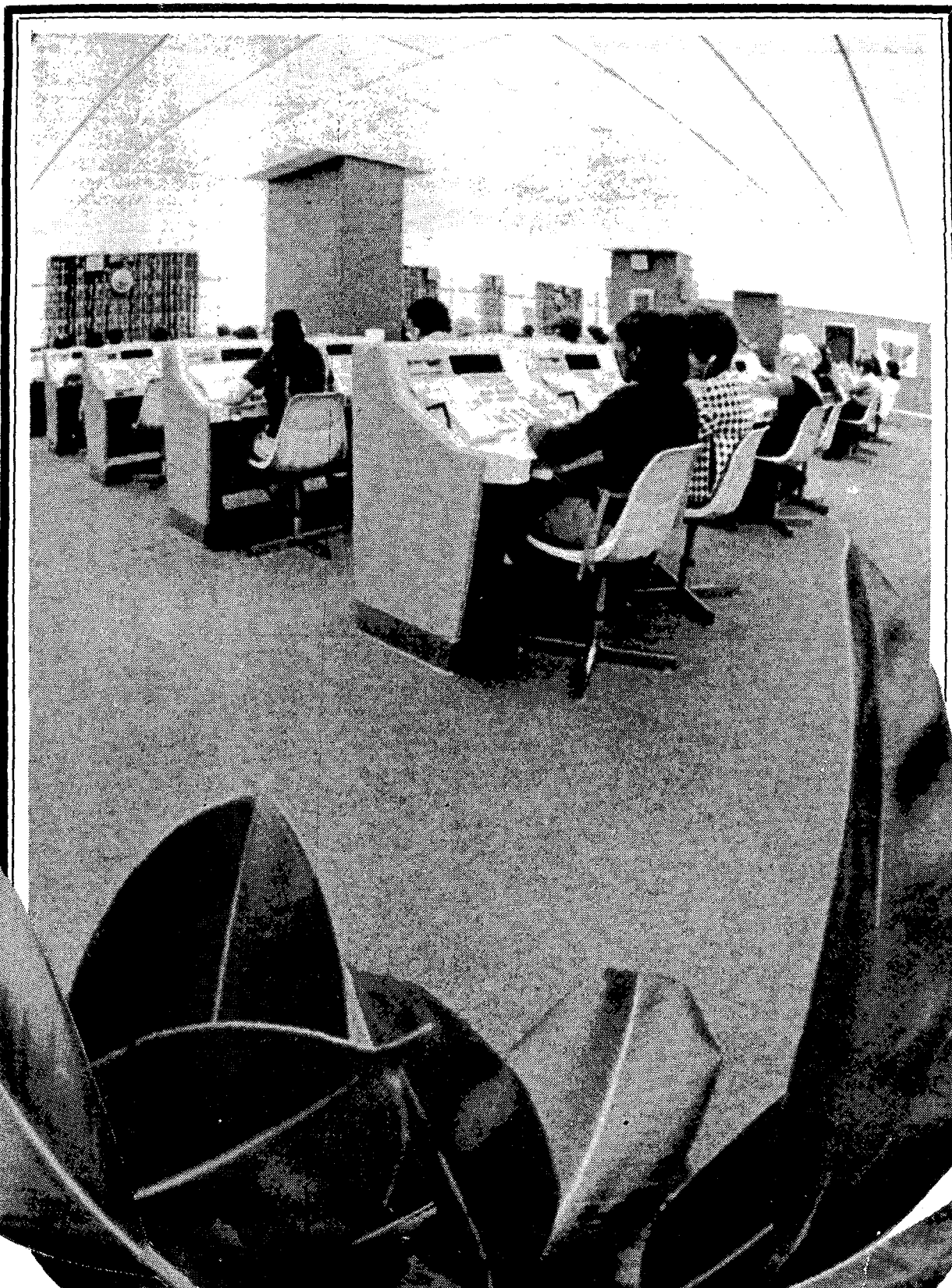
touched off student street demonstrations in several Nepali cities beginning in early April. The king closed the universities on April 24, but demonstrations continued. Peasants and workers joined the students, complaining of high prices, high taxes, and a shortage of consumer goods.

In response to the protests, King Bihendra ousted his Minister of Education, reopened the universities, and released two dozen political prisoners, including Koirala. He also met student demands by abolishing entrance examinations, giving the students permission to form an independent union and increasing stipends for merit scholarships. A call by the students, workers and peasants that the prime minister and cabinet be dismissed was rejected, however, as was a call for amnesty for students arrested in the protests. Rebellious students continue to boycott classes and many stores and offices remain closed in solidarity.

Koirala favors trying to reach some "national consensus" with King Bihendra, believing him to be well aware of how endangered a species monarchs are. Others in the Congress Party are pressing Koirala to initiate a Gandhian "non-violent movement" of nationwide direct action to bring down the *panchayats* and restore democratic rights.

On May 24, King Bihendra, yielding to violent demonstrations involving 20,000 protesters in the streets of Katmandu, and pressure from the Nepali Congress Party, announced that a referendum would be held for Nepali citizens to choose between the *panchayat* system of parliamentary democracy.





# Raises Not Roses

## Organizing in the Sexual Ghetto

By Peter Dreier

**B**Y NOW, FLOWERS THAT BOSS-  
es give their "girls" during  
National Secretaries Week  
(April 22-28) have long since  
wilted, but pay and promo-  
tion opportunities for women office work-  
ers have never had a chance to bloom.

For women employees of the First National Bank of Boston, however, that week marked the beginning of a campaign demanding "raises, not roses." At an April 25 public hearing at Boston's historic Faneuil Hall, several hundred members of Nine to Five, the Boston organization for women office workers, launched a campaign to upgrade pay, promotions and job descriptions at the city's largest bank and (after John Hancock Insurance) second largest employer.

Barry Allen, the bank's vice president for corporate communications, later claimed that "our pay is competitive with other businesses and financial institutions in the Boston area."

"That's exactly the problem!" responded Nine to Five's Joan Quinlan. "They're all bad. But the First is the leader."

The First National Bank of Boston "sets the pace for employment policies in the Boston business community," Pat Cropp, Nine to Five's chairwoman, ex-

plained to the Faneuil Hall crowd. "When the First meets our demands for higher pay, job posting, and accurate job descriptions, not only the First's employees, but women in offices all over the city will benefit."

(The bank is already the target of anti-nuclear groups for its loans to New England utilities to build nuclear power plants and of anti-apartheid groups for its loans to South African-based corporations).

Nine to Five announced its intention to organize a letter-writing campaign of depositors, to urge church, labor and community groups to pressure the bank, to encourage the Department of Labor to investigate the bank's affirmative action policies, and to begin an onslaught of public actions to embarrass the nation's 17th largest bank, half of whose 5,300 employees are women.

On May 2, Nine to Five members picketed the bank's imposing 37-story downtown headquarters during lunch hours, calling attention to its "Year of the First" campaign. They passed out leaflets and buttons and basked in the glow of news coverage.

Apparently, the bank was listening; a job-posting program will be "fully operational" by June 7, vice president Allen explained. Allen claimed that the job-posting policy "follows a one-year study." (But last July, at a meeting with Nine to

Five members, bank executives rejected any suggestion that they institute a job-posting scheme.)

Allen also claimed that "women have continual opportunities for promotion" and, while acknowledging Nine to Five's statement that less than 2 percent of the bank's 258 top money-earners are women, explained that "it takes many years to progress to the top. We have an excellent group of women moving up into management ranks."

To Nine to Five, that's not good enough. They say almost all women are in dead-end positions. "We want to see results now," said staffer Quinlan.

The First National Bank campaign is the most ambitious in the five-year history of Nine to Five, the first of a growing number of sister organizations that have mushroomed around the country. In city after city, they are demanding "rights and respect" for women office workers.

The movement started in 1972 in Boston, a city with a quarter of a million office workers, the highest cost of living in the nation, and office salaries lower than those in any U.S. city except Birmingham and Memphis, when ten secretaries circulated a small newsletter that documented the common problems of Boston's downtown female work force.

Similar groups soon followed in New

York City, San Francisco, Chicago, Cleveland and Dayton. Within the past two years, sister organizations have begun in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, Baltimore, Providence, Hartford, Seattle, Philadelphia, Amherst, Mass., and Concord, N.H. To coordinate this burgeoning movement, a nationwide project called Working Women was founded with regional offices in Cleveland, Boston, and San Francisco.

The older groups have gotten over the first stage of simply trying to survive; they typically run on annual budgets of \$50,000-\$150,000. The newer groups get by on as little as \$15,000 a year. Each city-wide organization raises funds from dues, rallies, tag days, door-to-door canvassing, and small foundation grants. Nine to Five, the oldest group, has 800 members and a full-time staff of six that works out of a crowded office in the downtown YWCA. Chicago's Women Employed has 1,000 members and a staff of seven.

### The sexual ghetto.

Woman office workers—file clerks, secretaries, bank tellers, typists, key-punch operators, copy editors, stenographers—occupy a "sexual ghetto" within the nation's workforce. They are channeled by schools, the media, and employers into jobs defined as "women's work." Over 11 million of the nation's 40 million work-



ing women are clerical workers.

Nine to Five's recent survey of Boston-area banks, insurance companies, publishing houses and colleges found few women among professional and administrative positions. Even in those categories, 67 percent were clustered as teachers and health workers (primarily nurses), rather than lawyers, doctors, engineers and executives. Most institutions, such as the First National Bank of Boston, had an almost impenetrable barrier between clerical work and higher status, higher-paying careers in management, sales, or semi-professional occupations.

"It's as if they took out a rung on the career ladder," says Nine to Five's Ellen Cassidy. "If you're a woman, the highest you can climb is executive secretary or administrative assistant."

Despite recent feature stories about women in management positions and other traditionally male jobs, "you just see tokens," claims Karen Nussbaum, a founder of Nine to Five and now director of Working Women. "Women and minorities have not been moved up. In fact, their economic position in the labor force has declined."

Government studies confirm Nussbaum's view. In the past two decades, as women have been re-entering the labor force in large numbers, the gap between male and female workers' income has actually widened, despite passage of affirmative action laws. Women now occupy 78 percent of all office jobs, up from 70 percent in 1964, the year the Civil Rights Act was passed. On the average, women working full-time earning \$5,000 less than full-time male workers. Women office workers earn considerably less than most blue-collar workers.

"The status of wearing a white collar, of being able to 'dress up,' doesn't compensate for the low pay," Nussbaum said.

Statistics also explode the myth that most women work for "pin money" to supplement a husband's salary and provide for the "little extras." In fact, 42 percent of the nation's working women are either single, divorced, widowed or separated. Among married women workers, half have husbands who earn less than \$10,000. Even with a break in employment the average woman will be working for 25 years if she is married and 34 years if she is single. More than six million children of pre-school age have working mothers, but only 2 percent of these children are in day care centers.

"Whether a woman works out of necessity or out of choice," Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) told 800 women at Nine to Five's convention in Boston last November, "she should never be placed in a position where she has to choose between her job and her children." Kennedy called for more government and employer-sponsored day care centers.

Women's working organizations have coined a "Bill of Rights for Women Office Workers," which catalogs the common problems. It includes the right to written job descriptions, compensation for overtime work and work not included in job descriptions, regular salary reviews, job posting and equal access to promotion opportunities, on-the-job training programs, written grievance procedures, and the same benefits and pay as men in similar job categories.

But heading the list is "the right to respect as women and as office workers."

#### No respect.

"Most company's don't acknowledge how important office workers are," said a Hartford woman who works for a large insurance firm. "If all the clerical workers in Hartford walked off the job, it would be worse than a transit strike."

"If you want to find out something about an organization, who do you ask?" commented a Chicago office worker. "The secretaries, of course."

"My boss can't even type or make coffee," explained a secretary for a Boston bank. "He'd be lost without me."

A Los Angeles secretary complained of having to take her boss' car to be washed, help his wife pick out a new wardrobe, and even make hotel and plane arrangements for his mistress.

"They treat you like children," says Jane Pinsky of San Francisco's Women Organized for Employment, "but you

wind up being their mothers."

But the problem, as these groups see it, is not individual bosses with old-fashioned sexist attitudes.

"Discrimination is a matter of corporate policy," explains Nine to Five's Ellen Cassidy.

"Women are intentionally kept in low-paying jobs," says Karen Nussbaum of Working Women.

#### Publicity and pressure.

To change policies toward women office workers, the growing network of organizations operate on several levels.

They bring the message of the women office workers' plight to the public by surveying major institutions that employ women and documenting discrimination, testifying at congressional and other government hearings, and using dramatic tactics traditionally reserved for labor unions and community organizations, to reveal the extent of the problems. (After Nussbaum and two colleagues appeared on the syndicated "Phil Donahue show" last year she received more than 600 letters from office workers around the country asking "what can we do here?")

They also put pressure on federal and local anti-discrimination agencies to do their jobs better.

"They have a miserable record of enforcement," claims Nussbaum. "While the laws themselves are not bad," she says, "the enforcement agencies, such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, and the Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division, 'don't have enough funds to be serious about enforcement.'"

Groups such as Nine to Five in Boston, Cleveland's Women Working, and the others wind up doing much of the work for them—documenting examples of discrimination, finding witnesses to testify at hearings, pressuring agencies to review company's affirmative action policies.

Boston's Nine to Five, for example, testified before the Senate Banking Committee that the Department of the Treasury had failed to review any Boston bank since 1974 for compliance with equal employment laws. It soon after filed a complaint against New England Merchants Bank with the U.S. Department of Labor and Treasury as a "test case," and continued to put pressure on the agency and the bank.

The case is still pending, but Nine to Five has already won better pay, training and sick leave policies at the bank. The same group has filed charges against local publishing companies, insurance firms, and other institutions to upgrade women employees. Nine to Five workshops teach women how to spot violations of equal opportunity laws and encourage them to bring action through government agencies. Women workers at Houghton Mifflin, a large Boston-based publishing firm, for example, were awarded \$750,000 in a back-pay settlement for sex discrimination.

Following the February 1978 blizzard in the Boston area, Nine to Five spearheaded a campaign to provide emergency unemployment benefits to the employees who were not paid during the week of the blizzard. Nine to Five publicized the fact that, while executives received normal salaries, clerical workers were expected to do without, even though the governor had closed down most institutions and banned most traffic.

Finally, these organizations put pressure on individual employers to change employment practices through legal action and such means as the "pettiest office procedure" award, often slamming employers into adopting less sexist policies.

In Cleveland, for example, an executive asked his secretary to repair a rip in his pants—while he was wearing them. The next day, 35 members of Cleveland Women Working showed up at his office (along with the city's major news media), presented him with an "executive sewing kit," and offered to teach him how to sew his pants himself. A Chicago secretary was fired when she refused to make coffee for her boss. But instead of heading home and looking in the classifieds for another job, she took her complaint to Women Employed who helped her file a sex discrimination suit against her employer.

She also got her job back. Tennis fans at a recent Longwood Tennis Tournament outside Boston were surprised to see picket signs, in the shape of tennis rackets, that said, "Even the Score for Working Women." That was Nine to Five's way of telling New England Merchants Bank, the tournament's sponsor, that their treatment of women office workers had to change.

Chicago's Women Employed took on the powerful CNA insurance firm on the issue of racial discrimination. Women in a predominantly black rate-setting department claimed that their job titles were arbitrarily low for the work they were doing. Women Employed helped them get a 10 percent wage increase.

Women Employed also took advantage of the Harris Bank's well-known symbol, a cuddly (male) lion. In the midst of a \$5 million sex and race discrimination suit against the bank with the Department of Labor, WE demonstrated in front of the bank's headquarters last October and then marched up to the president's office

**he exec told his secretary to repair a rip in his pants — while he wore them.**

**Cleveland Women Working members gave him an "exec's sewing kit."**

to present him with their "cowardly lion" award.

#### Change in attitude.

Such activeness may seem unusual for women office workers, but it reflects a slow but gradual change both in women's attitudes and in their working conditions.

"Women are just beginning to get the confidence to speak out and come forward," explained Joy Horning, a former keypunch operator for a Wall Street bank, now a staffer at New York's Women Office Workers. "They are not as willing to put up with things they accepted before."

A secretary in a Boston insurance firm tried to get her company to post job openings in the office. She was told to "go through channels." When her memos received no response, she circulated a petition, signed by all 40 office workers, to the company's vice president. When this was ignored, she called Nine to Five, who advised her how to organize a campaign to make changes in the office.

"Now," she says, "I have more confidence in myself. I'm proud that I just didn't complain. It's important to make people aware that they do have rights. That they don't have to be stepped on."

"Many of the women who come to us say that 'I'm no women's libber,' or 'I'm no joiner, but...'" says Nussbaum. "The ideas of equality for women have seeped down and affected the lives of working women who were not involved in the organized feminist movement."

Indeed, a major strength of these groups is their ability to attract women who otherwise might not be involved in organized political activity. But they have also been subject to criticism by the radical women's movement for evading such issues as abortion and for their unwillingness to call themselves "feminists."

Women Employed's Day Creamer argues that the women's movement needs a "division of labor to be effective, and that all groups can't take on every issue." She also explains that among WE members "the experience of participation in Women Employed broadens their political outlook. It brings them into contact with a bigger political sphere."

Nine to Five's Ellen Cassidy agrees that "our groups bring into the fold of the women's movement many women who don't share similar beliefs about life-style issues. That's a real accomplishment. We don't want to risk dividing our constituency over concerns that aren't central to our focus on the workplace."

She attributes much of their success to their ability to maintain a clear focus on job-related problems and an emphasis on concrete results.

But the workplace focus also has its problems. Because they are not labor unions, they are not protected by labor laws; therefore, many women are afraid to stand up and speak out.

"We have lots of silent supporters who won't even write a check because they fear it will be traced and they'll be found out by their employers," Cassidy explained. "Even putting up a leaflet in the women's room is often a difficult thing to ask someone."

As a result, these organizations spend a great deal of time developing the self-confidence and leadership skills of members and trying to be sensitive to psychological and family needs. Meetings are short. The staffs generate a lot of small tasks that can be widely distributed among members. A lot of time is devoted to teaching how to chair meetings, write songs, talk to the press and speak in public.

Although such matters are important, Cassidy is concerned that the working women's organizations, like other women's groups, will become "more con-

cerned about process than about results." The tension is not always an easy one to resolve.

To share such experiences, and such dilemmas, the first national Working Women's Summer School will be held at Kent State University in Ohio from July 12-15 for members and staff of the city-wide groups. Workshops will discuss such topics as direct-action techniques, affirmative action, organization building, unionization, women's culture and fundraising.

The working women's movement sees itself as somewhere between the women's movement and the labor movement.

They have joined with other women's organizations on mutual projects. Nine to Five, for example, lobbied actively in the successful ERA campaign in Massachusetts, and its members served on the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women (recently fired by conservative Gov. Edward King). Cleveland Women Working shares its headquarters with other women's groups such as the Women's Law Project.

Women office workers are the least unionized (11 percent) sector of the workforce and traditionally have not identified with the male-dominated labor movement. As the working women's movement registers successes, however, the labor movement has begun to take notice. Local working women's groups have been approached by a number of unions—Retail Clerks, UAW, AFSCME, OPEIU, Communications Workers, Longshoremen, Teamsters, and SEIU, among them—to begin discussions.

In Boston, Nine to Five has spun off Local 925, an affiliate of the Service Employees International Union, chartered specifically to organize office workers. It has recently made breakthroughs at several Boston area universities (Brandeis, Boston University and Tufts), publishing firms (Allen and Bacon) and elsewhere. WE has a joint labor education project with the Communications Workers of America.

"Working women are obviously going to unionize in greater numbers in the next two decades," says Working Women's Nussbaum. "As more women enter the labor force, they expect more from their jobs in terms of self-respect and compensation. The question is, will they do so in a way that preserves their strength, the leadership that is developing, and their identity as women office workers? We don't want to be scattered and swallowed up."

Peter Dreier is assistant professor of sociology at Tufts University.

For more information on the Working Women's Summer School, contact Working Women, 1258 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115.



# LETTERS

## SUPPORT FOR SOCIALISM GROWS

IN RESPONSE TO JAMES R. GORMAN'S letter (*ITT*, May 30) let me make a few brief points:

1. I don't propose that socialists oppose everything that could be called "liberal reform." As I stated in my May 16 letter, these reforms have been "overemphasized" by socialists. These reforms are not the answer to our nation's problems and this fact should be stated honestly. We must not mislead the people into believing there are simple, painless means of righting the wrongs of capitalism.

Some reforms are truly progressive in nature, but many others are ephemeral or nothing but a sham.

2. I do not propose that socialists do anything to further the decline of the capitalist economy. But the fact remains that sufficient political support will not exist for the building of democratic socialism until the standard of living declines further.

3. Socialism will not arise automatically from the ruins of capitalism. Very difficult work will be involved. Furthermore, even before the collapse of capitalism much political work must be done in terms of education and organization.

—Allan Keith Jr.  
Mattoon, Ill.

## CHOICE

WHEN THE LEFT POSES THE PRO-abortion vs. pro-barbarism argument it falls short of presenting an alternative socialist vision.

The ability safely to choose whether or not to have a child is new to our time. No previous society has had to face this issue as a social question. Therefore, we cannot stop at enshrining this opportunity as an "individual right." This leaves us with a vision for women as isolated people who must make choices irrespective of any relationship to others.

The decision whether or not to have a child should be made in the context of its social responsibility, i.e., can this child be raised to be a benefit to my family, community, city and country as well as to myself. As socialists, we must recognize that there is no freedom of choice without a socially responsible alternative on child raising.

If we are to develop a desire for socialism in the American people we must present a vision of being able to raise children where the family and community participate and the mother does not have to sacrifice her development in other areas.

If we do not attempt to build this environment and impress this vision in the minds of people, we will never have a real choice about our lives.

—Robert Leventer  
Los Angeles

## BREAKING THE IMPASSE

THE DEBATE IN YOUR LETTERS COLUMN over abortion seems to have arrived at the usual impasse: pro-abortionists say it's a woman's right; anti-abortionists say it's murder. There's a way out of this dead-end street—though I can't guarantee that either the feminists or the "right to lifers" will go for it.

Let's start with what just about everybody agrees on: killing a human being is a bad idea. Sometimes necessary, perhaps (socialists and other people disagree on that), but certainly nothing to be done lightly. What the feminists haven't bothered to ask, and the right-to-lifers don't care to ask is: is a fetus a human being? The latter are constantly telling us that a fetus is *alive* (as if any-

one doubted it); but that proves nothing. The mosquito I just swatted was alive; so was the chicken I consumed (in part) last night. So what?

Everybody, including the Supreme Court, agrees that a baby is a human being. Now let's jump to the other end of the process: the single, fertilized egg-cell that is the beginning of a baby. Is that cell a human being? Not unless an acorn is an oak, or a peach pit is a peach tree. Potentially it's a human being, and in course of time will probably become one, but potentially isn't actually—otherwise one would have to say that a newborn baby girl is a mother, which she potentially is.

The key question, then, is: when does "potential" become "actual"? The Supreme Court and most feminists say: at birth. Inside the mother, a fetus is a fetus; once outside, it's human—which seems to me reasonable enough. It is equally reasonable to say that the fetus becomes human once it is *capable* of surviving outside its mother's body—i.e., at about seven months. Before that, however, we have a living organism that cannot survive without its mother; that physiologically is a part of her; which she, therefore, must decide to keep—or remove. It isn't a decision I envy, but hard or easy, it's her decision.

—Robert Clairborne  
New York

## BLACKS IN SPORTS

MARK NAISON MADE SEVERAL VALID points in his critique of the NBC-TV show "College Sports Inc.: Big Money on Campus," but I would like to carry them further. As Harry Edwards pointed out on the show, only 900 blacks make a living playing ball in the U.S. Unfortunately, it's getting worse.

There are 11 percent fewer blacks in the major leagues today than there were in 1968 and only 15 percent of minor leaguers are black as compared to 30 percent five years ago. In the NFL, positions such as quarterback, center, punter, kicker, and coach are reserved for whites. A recent study by Jane Gross of *Newsday* pointed out that even in the NBA many superior black players are cut to make room for a quota of whites and that the number of blacks allowed on a team is inversely proportional to the white population of the home city.

There might as well be a law against blacks competing in "minor" sports. It costs \$15,000 a year for a top figure skater to train and compete; \$6,500 for a gymnast; \$2,500 for a swimmer or a weightlifter. The position of all other national minorities can be summarized by the fact that pitcher John Henry Johnson of the Oakland A's is the only full-blooded Indian to make the majors since Allie Reynolds 25 years ago.

As for the Hobson's choice between Sen. Bill Bradley's plan openly to pay salaries to college athletes and Edwin Newman's suggestion of de-emphasis, I propose a third alternative: full employment. Then the athletes will really have a choice.

—Michael Washington  
author, *The Locker Room is a Ghetto*  
Chicago

## ITT OR TIME?

SOMETIMES I WONDER ABOUT *ITT*. A case in point: the piece by Barbara Schaff on the British elections (*ITT*, May 16). In a journal dedicated to the cause of labor and socialism, she writes "Recollections of a winter made especially harsh by the frequent random and capricious strikes of labor unions were still fresh as voters walked past piles of long uncollected garbage on their way to the polls." This is worthy of the Chamber of Commerce. "Random and capricious strikes" in a country where inflation is tearing the guts out

of working class incomes? Which side is she on?

A bit later we read "The returns also provided a mixed blessing for women, with the good news, of course, the election of a woman prime minister." The "good news"? Phyllis Schlafly for President anyone (with Anita Bryant as Secretary of the Interior)? "Thus far, only three out of 87 cabinet, ministerial and junior ministerial appointments in the new government have gone to women," she continues, reversing field. "Thatcher has not been a part of the women's movement, but the most likely reason for her failure to appoint more of her sex is the small field from which she had to choose." Sure. Half of the population isn't everybody.

Finally, she reminds us yokels out in the colonies that Margaret Thatcher and the right wing of the Conservative Party she represents aren't as neanderthal as U.S. Republicans (for example on health care and nationalized industry). Uh huh. The British play cricket. But where is it noted that Thatcher has promised to let the market do its magic number on prices and wages? Where her racism? Where her "tilt" toward Smith and Co. in Rhodesia? From a socialist journal we expect socialist analysis; from *Time* magazine this sort of crap.

—John Beverley  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

## WEST BENGAL

I WAS VERY HAPPY TO SEE MERVYN Jones' article on West Bengal (*ITT*, Apr. 4). It is the only one of its kind I have come across in a left newspaper in this country. The left-wing movement in India, the second most populous nation in the world, has largely been ignored in the U.S. Coverage has been confined to pro-Chinese (for lack of a better phrase) publications, and is biased and sometimes inaccurate.

West Bengal has a long history of militant working-class and peasant struggles. From the days of the British Raj it was a center of armed resistance against British imperialism. Calcutta, the capital of West Bengal where I grew up and lived until 1971, seethed with intense political activity. Demonstrations, strikes and takeovers occurred almost daily between 1967 and 1971, which marked a turning point in the social and political history for the whole of India. In the country-wide parliamentary elections in 1967, hitherto invincible Indian National Congress suffered ignominious defeat in several states.

In West Bengal a United Front government was formed by a coalition of opposition parties of various shades, including the Communist Party of India (Marxist). Despite the class contradictions among the constituents of this democratic coalition, the government unleashed an unprecedented upsurge of struggles that resulted in the capture of thousands of acres of land by landless peasants and forced landlords and capitalists to retreat temporarily. But machinations at the central government in New Delhi led to the fall of the government, only to be re-elected to office by a resounding majority in the 1969 elections.

By this time, the CPI(M) had a much stronger voice in the government due to its tremendous electoral success. As the government moved to implement land reforms and provide some relief to the workers, several large industries pulled out of the state and the central government in New Delhi either postponed or cut off much needed funding causing severe damage to the precarious economy. Hoarding of essential commodities drove prices up beyond peoples' means and alienated a large section of the middle-class from the government. In addition, organized goon squads recruited from unemployed youth were let loose to burn union headquarters and Communist party offices. Mervyn Jones correctly characterized these events as "destabilization of the type later familiar in Chile."

By the end of 1970, thousands of CPI(M) activists and sympathizers were driven out of their homes to seek shel-

ter in other states. Under the pretext that the state was not being governed properly, the President of India dismissed the state government. The next several years, progressive forces suffered terrible setbacks under the draconian rule of Indira Gandhi. Nonetheless, despite the semi-fascist terror, the CPI(M) and the will of the people survived. This was proven when West Bengal elected tens of CPI(M) candidates to the state assembly in 1977.

There is now a left government in West Bengal under the leadership of CPI(M). However, as I write this letter, there is a concerted attempt in progress to deprive the state from receiving electrical power, which will bring industry to a halt and bring misery to the people.

—Name withheld at  
writer's request

## TOM HAYDEN

I APPRECIATED GREATLY JOHN JUDIS' article on Tom Hayden (*ITT*, May 9). In discussing Hayden's relation to Brown and the balanced budget, Judis touched on the apparent contradictions in recent rhetoric from the leader of CED.

In his challenge to CDC conventioners at Fresno, Cal., Hayden ridiculed War on Poverty bureaucrats (does he include those who work in Headstart and Weatherization/Insulation programs still funded with anti-poverty funds from Washington?). The CED leader's generalizations against government spending, bureaucrats and labor union negotiators (labor's been "riding the tiger of inflation") could have been lifted from the notes of Brown, Reagan or Carter. It should also be noted that the Hayden attacks on public spending come at a time when his organization is fighting for legislation and initiatives (e.g., SolarCal and rent control) that will require *public* revenue and new bureaucrats.

In his March 24, Fresno speech, Hayden even challenged the concept of progressive-graduated taxation on wealth: "increasing the taxes on the very rich may well cause panic and a flight of capital from the country, a 'capital strike.'" That's the argument used repeatedly by manufacturers and Wall Street to protect every tax loophole already on the books.

It is time for the left to center the discussion of excess spending on the Pentagon (and on the red-tape associated with federal categorical grants, as opposed to revenue sharing). It is also time to challenge folks like Hayden, Brown and Carter to name any significant local problem that can be dealt with or resolved *without* new public revenue, revenue not now available at the local level.

—Paul Baldwin  
Santa Cruz, Cal.

## DEATH PENALTY

THE EXECUTION OF JOHN SPENKELINK was a brutal, barbaric and morally indefensible act by the officials of the State of Florida and by the judicial officers who allowed it to happen. Spenkelink, a murderer, is free now from his guilt, but we as citizens of this nation who share with Florida the responsibility for this savagery must live with our guilt for we are murderers as surely as Spenkelink was.

There are those who will say that the death penalty is necessary to protect society, but these people are deluding themselves. No rational person who has studied the facts can honestly argue that the death penalty is a deterrent to crime. Then what arguments are left? Is retribution a justifiable act of a civilized society? It is not. Does revenge have a place in our legal system? It does not. Does revenge have a place in our legal system? It should not. We have collectively sunken to a level lower than that of the commonest murderer. John Spenkelink's own actions cannot be defended, but he was a human being and we mourn for him today. We mourn also for ourselves.

—Tony Dunbar  
Institute for Southern Studies  
Chapel Hill, N.C.



JOSE LA LUZ

## Hispanics emerging as powerful new force in American politics

A FEW YEARS AGO THE ONLY HISPANIC ISSUE THAT MOBILIZED a significant segment of the liberal and progressive elements in this country was the farmworkers' struggle to organize themselves into a union. Indeed, Cesar Chavez was nearly the only national Hispanic leader known to many social and political activists at the time. And it should be noted that Chavez was perhaps the only Hispanic leader who took upon himself the task of building a broad-based coalition supporting the farm workers in their fight against the powerful agribusiness in California. This struggle reached beyond the Hispanic communities throughout the country and into the homes of many working men and women of different races and nationalities.

Today the mass media is giving attention to other developments among Hispanics, mainly the fact that they are the fastest growing minority and are expected to be the largest minority in the country within the next 20 years. According to the Census Bureau, the number of persons of Hispanic descent living in the nation has increased by a third since 1970, and already total more than 12 million.

A recent article in *Time* magazine entitled, "It's Your Time in the Sun," states that Hispanics number 19 million if the more than six or seven million undocumented workers are added to the Census figure. Furthermore, the *Time* article explains that "the Hispanics' very numbers guarantee that they will play an increasingly important role in shaping the nation's politics and policies. Just as black

power was a reality of the '60s, so the quest for Latino power may well become a political watchword of the decade ahead."

Many national Hispanic leaders agree with *Time's* assessment of the impact the growing number of Hispanics will have. "Hispanics may well be the political movement of the '80s," said Dr. Pablo Sadiño Jr., Secretary of Hispanic Affairs for the National Conference of Bishops in a recent *New York Times* article about Hispanics. And Raul Izaguirre, director of the National Council of La Raza, an umbrella group of Mexican-American organizations, predicted that "the 1980s will be the decade of the Hispanics."

Yet, despite their growing numbers, Hispanics have a long way to go in order to make a major impact on the nation's political panorama. In proportion to their numbers, Hispanics are severely underrepresented among public elected officials as well as in every other major institution in American society.

Although Hispanics are united by a

common language and culture, their diverse national origins, class backgrounds and geo-political realities divide them, and it is only recently that several successful attempts have been made to coalesce and build the necessary alliances among them.

The plight of Hispanics becomes clearer when we take a look at some of their socio-economic characteristics. A recent federal study indicated that the median income for Hispanic men was \$7,797 as against \$10,261 for other workers. Twenty-one percent of Hispanic families had incomes below the official poverty line, as against 9 percent for all families.

In essence, the overwhelming majority of Hispanics are working people engaged in a constant struggle for economic survival in the midst of a hostile and oppressive society that rejects their culture, language and national heritage. They are not only the victims of exploitation, as other workers are in a capitalist economy, but they must also suffer national chauvinism in all of its forms and manifestations.

It is precisely in response to some of the manifestations of national chauvinism that Hispanics have organized themselves at the community level to fight for the establishment of bilingual-bicultural programs in the educational system. This seems to be by far the most popular and massive struggle in which Hispanics are seeking to reaffirm their democratic right to preserve their language and culture. It is perhaps the most coherently articulated struggle, with a strategy that has successfully rallied substantial numbers of people among Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and South and Central Americans throughout the U.S.

The character of the migration of people of Hispanic origin to the U.S. constitutes the basis of what has become one of the most controversial issues today: the impact of undocumented workers or the "illegal aliens"—as they are referred to by the media and governmental agencies—on an economy in crisis. Undoubtedly, the control that U.S. transnational corporations exert over the economy of the developing nations in Latin America is one of the major factors that contribute to the massive migration of impoverished workers from these countries to

North America.

Once these workers arrive in this country, their fate continues as before—that of providing cheap labor for American corporations. But now in a depressed economy they risk becoming the scapegoats for all evils in the tight labor market. The result is that they may get deported, as thousands of their compatriots were deported from California and the Southwest during the Great Depression.

The rapidly growing U.S. Hispanic population comes from countries in which the U.S. has intervened politically and militarily to protect the investments of American capitalists. This experience will tend to shape the contribution Hispanics will make to the development of an anti-imperialist perspective in American politics.

Many Hispanics were already living in territories which had been taken over by violent force and are now part of the U.S. That is why inevitably the presence of hundreds of thousands of Mexicans within the U.S. presents an interesting dilemma for American elected officials and policy makers when it comes time to discuss trade agreements to obtain Mexico's oil. Similarly, relations with Cuba will be affected by politics in the Cuban community in the U.S., and the solution to the colonial status of Puerto Rico by Puerto Rican politics in New York, Chicago and San Jose, Cal.

There is no question that the growing presence of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and South and Central Americans in this country will pose some special problems to the tiny minority that imposes its will over the vast majority of people in this country. And progressives must be prepared to play a vital role in building the necessary alliances with those elements among the Hispanic communities that are struggling to build a better America for all.

*Jose La Luz, a longtime social activist in the Hispanic community, is a specialist in labor education programs for Hispanic trade unionists at the School of Labor and Industrial Relations of Michigan State University. With this column, La Luz begins his regular commentary on Hispanic affairs for IN THESE TIMES.*

RICHARD L. SKLAR

## China may play big role in shaping Zimbabwe's political future

IN TODAY'S WORLD, FEW LOCAL WARS ARE WITHOUT immediate significance for relations between the major powers. Evidently, China will be the principal big-power beneficiary of Tanzania's military success in Uganda. It has been reported that Chinese logistical and strategic support was largely responsible for the efficiency with which Tanzania's army, which had been lightly regarded, crushed Amin's army and his Libyan reinforcements. This unanticipated revival of China's prestige in Africa is likely to affect the course of events in Zimbabwe. China's profound disapproval of growing Soviet influence over the Southern African liberation movement is well known. Like Tanzania, China has supported the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), led by Robert Mugabe, while the Soviet Union has supported the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo. However, China's inclination to back any and every opponent of the "Soviet camp" in Africa is notorious.

Since the visit of Huang Hua, China's Foreign Minister, to Zaire's beleaguered President Mobutu in Kinshasa, during last year's Shaba crisis, there have been intermittent reports of Chinese disengagement from the wars of liberation in Africa. That would spell deep trouble for ZANU. At least one of the recent rifts within ZANU has related to internal disagreement

over that movements continued reliance upon China rather than the Soviet Union.

After her stunning success in Uganda, China is now less likely than ever to walk away from ZANU. The government of Tanzania will doubtless urge China to refurbish its tarnished reputation for revolutionary integrity in Africa. Besides, an opportunity to fight the hated Soviet enemy by proxy, through ZANU, is too tempting for the Hua-Deng regime to resist.

On the question of Chinese involvement in this struggle, the governments of Tanzania and Zambia are probably in accord. Zambia's president, Kenneth Kaunda, has always been pro-Chinese, fearing Soviet influence in his region. Yet his country is now virtually "occupied" by Nkomo's Soviet-backed army. Kaunda's vulnerability to hostile action by an Af-

rican armed force that is stronger than his own has become a matter of deep concern. As in Lebanon, a guerrilla army that cannot take its objective will surely become a menace to its sanctuary.

The fall of Amin coincided in time with Bishop Abel Muzorewa's electoral victory in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. China might be expected to mistrust the subsequent attempt to unify ZAPU and ZANU in the Soviet-influenced setting of Addis Ababa. Reports indicate that the two movements are still as separate as ever. It is misleading to use the political term "Patriotic Front" as an analytical category in serious discussions about the struggle for Zimbabwe. ZAPU and ZANU as separate entities are the real actors. Either one is capable of striking a bargain with the Muzorewa majority within Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Muzorewa, himself, is known to prefer Mugabe, but his white partners like Nkomo better. Old prejudices die hard.

If China were to leave the war, part of ZANU might then accept Muzorewa's olive branch as a matter of political self-

preservation. That would strengthen the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia regime; it would also increase the danger to Kaunda.

Kaunda's government has never been friendly to ZANU. Yet it may well prefer an autonomous ZANU, supported by China, to a united but frustrated (hence dangerous) Zimbabwe "liberation" movement under hegemonic Soviet influence. This viewpoint is likely to be shared by the government of Mozambique, which has managed to maintain good relations with both China and the Soviet Union.

China's continued commitment to ZANU has this paradoxical effect: it sustains guerrilla warfare at a high level of intensity while it perpetuates a three-cornered conflict. These conditions virtually cry out for renewed attempts to resolve the matters at issue by means of negotiation. The possibility of a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe continues to pose a challenge to statesmanship in southern Africa.

*Richard L. Sklar is professor of political science at the University of California, Los Angeles.*

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## IN DEPTH

## Nickel-diming the poor with middle class bias

By Lanier Rand Holt and Robert F. Kelly

**IN THE PAST THREE YEARS THE RESULTS OF THE HEALTH, Education and Welfare Department's \$112 million Seattle-Denver Income Maintenance Experiments (SIME/DIME) have begun to be made available to policy makers, social scientists and the public. The study was designed to test the desirability of a negative income tax (NIT) as an alternative to existing welfare programs. One finding of the study, which suggests that NIT fosters marital instability, has received wide coverage in the media. This finding and others resulting from SIME/DIME are likely to exert a major influence on welfare reform policy.**

Since the 1960s reformers have proposed NIT as an alternative to the present welfare system—Aid to Families with Dependent Children. NIT proposals usually contain three features:

- a minimum support level or guaranteed income for a family with no other income;
- for families with other sources of income, grants are taxed away at a certain rate until no grant is received;
- there is coverage of the employed as well as the unemployed poor with grants accessible to both husband-wife and single parent families.

NIT proponents in the '60s and '70s, such as Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY), claimed the program would strengthen families by aiding two-parent families as well as AFDC eligible female-headed families, a group that still receives the largest amount of total welfare funds. NIT would nullify the supposed AFDC incentive for couples to separate. (There is a program, AFDC-U, which allows two-

parent families to receive welfare, but only half of the 50 states including Colorado and Washington engage in AFDC-U and it constitutes less than 8 percent of the national welfare expenditures.)

Opponents claimed that NIT would be yet another government-imposed disincentive to work. SIME/DIME was designed mainly to address the labor-disincentive question and the answer to this question has been fairly clear. An NIT program does reduce labor supply (measured in hours worked per week or month), but only by a small amount in general. Further, low-income persons tend to substitute other activities such as child care, education and leisure for the marginal reduction in work effort. *The poor are as rational as anyone else.*

About 4,800 low-income black, white and Chicano families in Seattle and Denver were randomly selected to take part in the SIME/DIME experiments in the early 1970s. They were randomly assigned to a control group and various experimental groups (60 percent in the latter). Both one and two-parent families were

included. Extensive economic and some social history data were collected. The study was conducted by HEW's primary contractor, the Stanford Research Institute in conjunction with the states of Washington and Colorado.

The experimental groups differed in (1) the basic grant level, and (2) the rate of taxation at which the grant was reduced due to additional income. The groups can be divided into three subgroups, one that received the least generous grant (not much different from AFDC), a second that received the most generous, 140 percent of the poverty level as determined by Social Security, and a third receiving a grant somewhere in between the first two.

The SIME/DIME researchers found that there was an average increase in couples' separation rates, of 58 percent for whites and 61 percent for blacks, with no significant difference for Chicanos. The opponents of NIT therefore seemed to have gained an important weapon with which to weaken, if not destroy, the pro-family arguments for NIT. These findings seem to have shifted the debate over welfare reform from the question of work disincentives to that of family stability.

But it was in the group with the least generous grant that separation rates grew by the largest percentage—i.e., in the group differing least from welfare. Little or no increase, or a decrease, was found in the group receiving the most generous grant, with the middle group looking more like the least generous than the most generous group. At low-levels of income support, separation rates were higher for blacks than for whites but not for Chicanos. Even in groups with the highest rates of separation, the effect of NIT weakened with time based on the two and a half years of data now available.

What can be said about these findings given their crucial importance for the future?

• If we find the data acceptable from the perspective of scientific rigor (a question now being debated and certainly open to doubt), a reasonable conclusion is that marital stability will be enhanced if a support level of 40 percent above the poverty level were incorporated in the NIT program. Living at 40 percent above poverty level is not going to make the poor into a leisure class.

No one has proposed this option because, one suspects, it would have little chance of implementation in the present political atmosphere in which austerity is being preached for social programs.

• Historically, the prevalent image of family stability has often been used to stigmatize the poor as sick or deviant. But who is to say that it is an undesirable result of NIT if it allows a poor person to end an unsatisfactory marriage? Stanford Research Institute's team of social scientists—predominantly economists—collected relatively little data with which to address quality of life questions, which must be addressed if the question of marital instability is to be dealt with objectively and fairly.

• As yet, no comprehensive and sound explanation of the SIME/DIME marital stability findings has been offered. Tortured econometric and sociometric attempts have been made but they fail to convince because they do not incorporate an understanding of the everyday lives of low-income persons. No field workers were hired to ask a question as simple as: why did your marriage break up? Further, to begin to understand the effects of NIT on marital events in the lives of poor couples, it would be necessary to consider the support structures that extended kinship and friendship networks provide the poor as a means to share resources and to maximize their chances of survival against great economic hardships and discrimination.

An emphasis on good and stable jobs should be taken as cautionary. The SIME/DIME findings, coupled with the Carter administration's orientation to welfare reform, could be taken as support for current ineffective "work-fare" efforts such as the Work Incentive Program, rather than a negative income tax program. "Workfare" offers people jobs but they tend to be unskilled, dead-end jobs that characterize the weakest sectors of the labor market. Public welfare, family and economic policy must therefore respond or at least be challenged to respond to these facts; for in them a creative response to SIME/DIME may begin to find a progressive orientation.

*Lanier Rand Holt and Robert F. Kelly are researchers at the Center for the Study of the Family and the State, Duke University, Durham, N.C.*

## BOOKS

## Exhaustion of liberal-conservative politics

### THE PARTIES: REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS IN THIS CENTURY

By Henry Fairlie  
St. Martin's Press, 236 pp., \$8.95

By David Levitt

Henry Fairlie is familiar to us through the pages of *The New Republic*. His shade to the left of liberalism is informed by a British upbringing which may lead him to believe that the debate between traditional right and left can still yield solutions to political and social problems.

Fairlie has a good heart. He embraces the world as it is, and the possibilities it holds. His perspective, though clouded at times by ingenuous prose, is refreshing because, unlike so many other political writers, he understands that answers to political questions must be consonant with political traditions, and consequently that political questions are human questions. However, one suspects his rollicking writing style might disguise a simplistic message.

Fairlie loves America. He believes that our party system once yielded a lively political culture, which reached all the way down to the waifs on the lower East side, and can do so again. He believes that we need to return to the beaten path; we need a regeneration of the political dialogue between conservatism and liberalism.

The Republican Party, writes Fairlie, "in the 40 years since it was first defeated by FDR, has shed the character which it previously had, but found no other character which the majority of the people can smell, feel, taste, know, enjoy:

denounce or cheer." The Republicans have misinterpreted the suburbs. They have lost the black vote while attempting to put together a "New" Southern constituency of a white middle class that simply wasn't there. They have given up the game of politics to the Democrats.

To survive, Fairlie believes, the Republican Party must embrace a true conservatism that delights in political struggle; it "must present its credentials from the right of center."

Fairlie's analysis of the success and recent foundering of the Democratic Party is stunning. It has made none of the mistakes of the Republicans. Starting with FDR, it created a political substructure out of city bosses and unions, which included the blacks and immigrants, and enjoyed politics and the challenges of the modern world.

But the Democratic Party has departed from the FDR equation, and is becoming less political, less interested in economics. It is "without a public philosophy; and a governing party without such a philosophy is a danger both to the country it governs and to itself."

The New Deal philosophy—that government should solve those problems too big for the individual—declined as a group Fairlie calls the "literate liberals" rose. The literate liberal is a member of the new upper-income class of literate professionals, growing since the end of World War II, who, with a distaste for politics and patronage, has turned the party away from economic issues toward cultural issues. This Fairlie calls a qualitative rather than a quantitative liberalism.

The literate liberals represent the double-bind of the Democratic Party. They want to bridge their traditional values with a contemporary society at war with those values. Their lack of interest in bread and butter issues has deprived the Democrats of an effective liberal left since 1948.

Though eloquent, Fairlie misses the mark. The conservative-liberal dialogue itself is exhausted. It is debatable whether we have any tradition on which to base a genuine conservatism. Liberalism was severely crippled during the '60s. The Great

Society, coupled with Vietnam, if not liberalism's last gasp, was at least the shock that left it comatose.

An historical analogy for the redefinition of our parties lies further back than 1900, in the mid-19th century. The tensions of the 1840s and 1850s resulted in the creation of the Republican Party, the destruction of the Whig Party, the split between Northern and Southern Democrats. This was not just a reorienting of voting blocs, but the creation of a new party that led the U.S. into the modern age.

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# PERSPECTIVES

## Will local populism lead to a new progressivism?

By Frank Riessman

A NUMBER OF MAJOR TRENDS NOW TAKING PLACE SIMULTANEOUSLY may contribute to changing the nature of the state by moving power and influence toward the neighborhood and the community. In essence, we are seeing the continuation of a decentralized, local, populist trend that surfaced in the '60s, with its stress on participation, local autonomy and consumerist politics. This trend is taking new forms in the '70s, sometimes with strong conservative shadings that may confuse us in understanding its essential thrust. Let us look at the various dimensions of this trend.

### Neighborhoods.

There is a tremendous proliferation of local community groups, block associations (10,000 in New York City alone), tenants groups, housing self-management groups, neighborhood revitalization groups and other community based groups such as ACORN and Massachusetts Fair Share.

Janice Perlman reports that the Alliance for Volunteerism estimates six million voluntary associations and a study by ACTION indicates 37 million volunteers, or one-fourth of all Americans over the age of 13.

•ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now) was operating in five states two years ago and is now in 13 states with plans to be in two more by December 1979.

•In 1976, National People's Action had chapters in 104 cities in 30 states and a mailing list of 1,000. It now operates in 116 cities in almost every state, with 38,000 people on its contact list.

•Massachusetts Fair Share in 1976 had eight affiliate groups around Boston, with 600 members. It now has 25 groups across the state, with over 15,000 members.

In addition, there is the striking expansion of self-help groups in the health, mental health and rehabilitation fields, as well as groups concerned more with advocacy and activism such as women's

groups, the gay movement, and the handicapped.

Initially, the self-help neighborhood movement seemed to be a retreat to privatism and localism, reflecting a feeling of alienation and powerlessness with regard to big government. But with increasing numbers and growing power, these forces actually may function to reduce the power of big government and democratize power.

### The tax revolt.

There is no question that the current tax (and service) revolt is spear-headed and controlled by conservative demagogues. The tax revolt has enormous impact because, like the consumerist movements of the '60s, it has great media appeal, spreads contagiously from one area to another, and has quick influence on centers of power, particularly Congress and the President. This movement is framed by the fact that to many people concerned about inflation, cutting social services seems to be the only way to reduce government spending.

Progressive groups such as Fair Share may be able to divert some of the tax revolt tendencies into more progressive directions, and there are signs of this already. Fair Share attempts to unite poor and working people. This means recognizing that the movement for property tax relief is *not* necessarily neo-conservative, right-wing and anti-government. It is a leg-

itimate striving of people who are not reaping the fruits of American capitalism.

### The new values.

The trends reflect, in one way or other, current mainstream values in our society: anti-bureaucracy, anti-big, anti-waste, anti-elite, pro-participation, pro-accountability and productivity on the part of the government.

While the anti-bureaucratic, pro-participatory theme is healthy in its own right, there is no question that it is not intrinsically progressive. Thus the left has to recognize the positive potential of the theme and connect a specific political agenda to it. Many progressively oriented political leaders are doing just this to varying degrees: Ralph Nader has done it most dramatically in the last decade and to a lesser extent it has been done more recently by Gar Alperovitz in the Youngstown campaign, Barry Commoner in his concern for local energy development, Fair Share and ACORN in their redistributive tax justice platform, and perhaps surprisingly by George Meany in calling for a localist participatory monitoring of President Carter's inflation control program.

### Political action.

A number of important political considerations should be kept in mind. There is no question but that Proposition 13 in its own right is a conservative, anti-public sector strategy, but it also symbolizes some of the feelings associated with the anti-centralist, anti-bureaucracy, anti-corruption themes. In opposing the specific politics of Proposition 13, we should not overlook these underlying themes, which appeal to a wide range of working and middle class people, large numbers of whom may not accept its other reactionary features.

In our political appeals we have to distinguish the reactionary implications of Proposition 13 from those oriented to de-

centralist accountability, which may be appealed to in terms of a genuine tax justice position, as well as other aspects of a progressive agenda. For example, those concerned with waste may be receptive to proposals to reduce military waste. They may also be receptive to a position pointing out the enormous inefficiency of a private sector that produces unsafe and polluting cars, and oil cartels that cheat consumers.

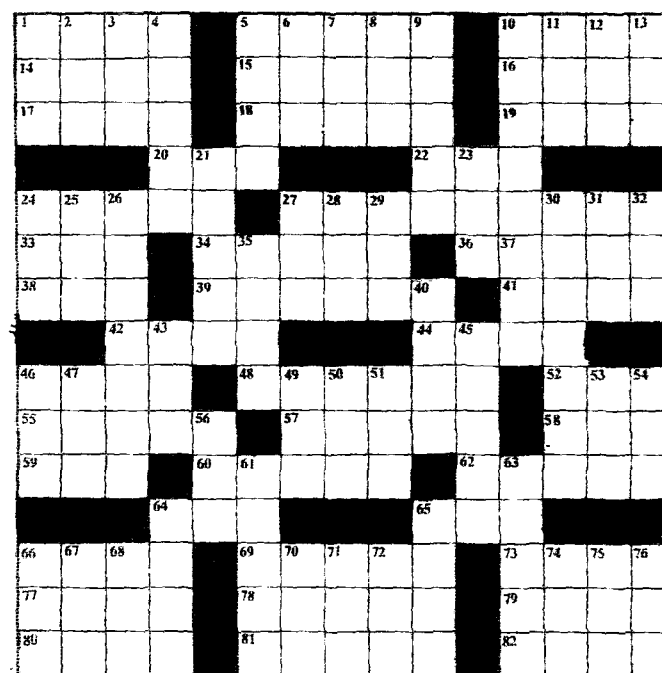
### The need for visions.

It is going to be important to develop a new vision, one that counters the "scarcity" politics of our day. We will need to put forth programs emphasizing the possibility of both growth and efficiency. This can be done through a decentralized consumerism in which large numbers of services are produced by local communities themselves, where the consumer is also the producer of the service, as in self-help, self-care, and mutual aid.

Service production need not deplete energy resources if it is producer-consumer intensive, rather than energy intensive. It is not only a critical service agenda in its own right, but should play a lead role in an overall political perspective that emphasizes tax justice, inflation control, and jobs rather than welfare. Such a vision could neutralize and isolate the backlash groups.

In developing a progressive new politics built on understanding the decentralized, anti-bureaucratic theme, we must be careful in the way we connect it with our own agenda for tax redistribution, anti-military, anti-corporate planks. It is essential that a central thrust in the progressive agenda always be seen clearly as anti-waste, anti-corporation, anti-elite, pro-participatory, pro-empowerment and that these themes be linked to a vision of efficiency, growth and participation. ■

Frank Riessman is editor of the journal *Social Policy*.



## Inflation

By David Mermelstein

### ACROSS

- 1 Ooze
- 5 Don't go up enough?
- 10 Goes up and up, in price
- 14 Assert
- 15 Greek assembly
- 16 Silly specialty
- 17 Corned beef sold here
- 18 Few have enough of this
- 19 This goes up in value as the dollar goes down
- 20 West
- 22 Call for help
- 24 Broods
- 27 Station
- 30 E.g. org.
- 33 WWII battle site, Jim
- 34 Tops a cake
- 36 Rowed
- 38 Legal thing
- 39 Buys less at home and less abroad!
- 41 Ranger or assassin
- 42 Layer
- 44 "\_\_\_\_\_ a loaf" (is all one can afford)

- 46 "...nothing to \_\_\_\_\_ but..."
- 48 Up and up and up!
- 52 Amer. corp.: enemy of Allende: Abbr.
- 55 Urged, with on (if one can afford them!)
- 57 Pains
- 58 Aunt, in Toledo
- 59 Female rabbit
- 60 Moorhead
- 62 County in SE England
- 64 Borders Isr.
- 65 Erhard's org.
- 66 See 18 Across
- 69 Adjust
- 73 Publisher Adolph \_\_\_\_\_
- 77 Commission or fee
- 78 Doesn't cost a nickel anymore!
- 79 Suffix for my \_\_\_\_\_
- 80 More and more are in this!
- 81 Rub out
- 82 Even if you could spare it, brother, what would it buy?

- 2 First woman
- 3 Elongated fish
- 4 When \_\_\_\_\_ rate goes up, one isn't talking steaks!
- 5 Abdomen: Scot
- 6 Past
- 7 Suffix meaning angled
- 8 Before
- 9 Final authority
- 10 Tires, with out
- 11 19 Across, in Valencia
- 12 Quadrupled in

### Answer to last week's puzzle.

FILM NEGRO BLUE  
OBIE ETHEL RUBY  
BOLD WHITE AGEE  
BCT 1 ST  
PEACH BLACK CAB  
OLD AGE OF YEARS  
DIM ORANGE AREA  
IPSO WARM  
BBRA SILVER LTD  
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SEL ACIDS ASSEAT  
AYR TINT  
BAYL AERIE EAST  
RICE BROWN LIE  
ADES BROWN LINT

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Coming in the fall—a special issue devoted entirely to The Neighborhood Movement in America and its Political Implications, including articles by Janice Perlman, Harry Bayin, Milton Butler, John Mollenkopf, S.M. Miller, Frank Riessman, William P. Hoynes, Naz Huseini, and Ted Goetze.

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# Anti-nuke

Continued from page 5

The lessons of the '60s, which some feared were lost on the young people of the '70s, survive. As a result, as Dr. Chancy Starr, vice chairman of the Electric Power Research Institute in Palo Alto, Cal., told the American Nuclear Society, the nuclear industry is "heading for a small catastrophe." Whether the growth of the anti-nuke movement, with its disciplined troops, will create more than a "small catastrophe" or whether it will produce its desired end, the cessation of all nuclear power, is yet to be seen. ■

## Long Island demonstration

Fifteen thousand people travelled to eastern Long Island on a rainy Sunday afternoon to protest against the Long Island Lighting Company's nearly completed Shoreham nuclear power plant. About 600 of them were arrested for trespassing on the grounds of the 80-acre construction site. The action was organized by the Shad (Sound/Hudson Vs. Atomic Development) Alliance, a coalition of anti-nuclear activists from the Island, New York City, and Westchester County. Last fall, the Alliance decided to focus its organizing efforts on the 820-megawatt Shoreham \$1.5 million nuke, scheduled to go on line in December 1981.

Shoreham is a secluded middle-class community located on the Long Island Sound about 60 miles east of New York City. The June 3rd demonstration was the largest ever in Suffolk County. According to its vice president, Ira Freilicher, LILCO spent \$250,000 to provide extra security. The utility spent two weeks before the protest putting up new fences with barbed wire around the nuke. LILCO says higher fences may be erected in the future.

The demonstrators sat for nearly three



Handcuffed on the bus, waiting to be driven to jail, a few of the 600 arrested at the Long Island Shoreham plant are calm.

hours on the rain-soaked beach listening to speeches by such activists as Connie Hogarth of the Westchester Peoples Action Center, and Ted Goldfarb, a Stony Brook chemistry professor active in Science for the People. Folk singer Pete Seeger and Charlie King were also on hand.

Michio Kaku, a nuclear physicist from the City College of New York, said, "This nuke is like something built by the Three Stooges. A tree grows in Brooklyn, but a lemon grows on Long Island. Shut it down!"

Kaku has examined a box full of technical progress reports on the Shoreham project found in a local garbage dump last month. The documents reveal thousands of construction defects during a recent two-month period.

Suffolk County police and LILCO security guards watched the approach of Shad affinity groups on a closed circuit video system and police boats patrolled the Long Island Sound. For the most part, the civil disobedience was orderly.

The affinity groups approached the nuke at five points. They brought ladders and

covered the barbed wire with blankets.

Of the 600 people arrested, about 100 were not authorized by Shad to participate in the civil disobedience. About a dozen teenagers pushed down the front gate of the plant and Shad disavowed any connection. As one young mother was going over the fence, a LILCO official told her she would be arrested for trespassing and could face 90 days in jail and a \$500 fine.

"We'll arrest you for poisoning our planet," she responded. "I'm here to protect the lives of my children."

Other mothers went over the fence. One affinity group was made up of nursing mothers who brought their babies with them.

Not everybody went over the fence. Deane Mowrer, 73, went under the fence after friends dug a hole. Mowrer, who is blind, has been arrested six times at anti-nuclear demonstrations since 1955. She is a member of the Catholic Workers in New York City. "I don't have to be able to see to know what's going on here."

Jerry Green, of Huntington, Long Is-

land, was also arrested at Shoreham. Two months ago he was arrested at a protest against the Trident nuclear submarine in Groton, Conn. As police were securing plastic disposable handcuffs on him, Green called to a group of LILCO workers, "I love you all and hope you end up with a nice healthy job real soon." He was then carried away on a stretcher.

Most of the 600 people arrested were released later that night. A group of about 25 "non-cooperators" refused to reveal their identities and are still in jail conducting a hunger strike.

Shad insiders say there is pressure from some members of the Alliance to shift the organizing effort away from Shoreham to the Indian Point nuclear complex in Westchester County. Whatever Shad decides to do, Long Island activists are confident that more and more local people will join the fight against Shoreham. Suffolk County Executive John Klein is up for reelection in November and all indications are that the Shoreham nuclear power plant will be a major issue in the race.

—Jon Kalish

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## SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN THE U.S.

"CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE NAME OF THE GAME, BUT YOU HAVE TO KNOW THE PLAYERS TO UNDERSTAND THE GAME AND THE REALITY THAT IT REFLECTS. THIS POSTER IS THE SIMPLEST AND CLEVEREST MEANS TO HELP EXPLAIN THE CLASS STRUCTURE IN THE U.S. TODAY. A MUST FOR ANY RADICAL TEACHER..."

— Bertell Ollman, Marxist scholar and  
inventor of the "Class Struggle" game

The Social Stratification poster is a graphic presentation of the U.S. population by income, occupation, family status, race and wealth. Much of this information is talked about in the media and classrooms. However, the series of numbers, percentages and median figures that are cited are confusing and near impossible to relate to one another. Our purpose is to overcome this comprehension problem by combining the data into a clear graphic format.

Making this information accessible is an important political project. The concept of "America as a middle class society" is widely used and politically charged. It conveys the image of a vast clump in the middle with few at the extremes of great wealth or poverty. Overcoming this illusion and making people confront differing social conditions and status is a crucial first step toward political awareness.

But there is another need for making this information accessible — the contemporary U.S. left has operated without a developed class analysis. Phrases such as "the industrial working class", "aristocracy of labor", and "new working class" have appeared and contended with one another without a clear presentation of the facts involved. One cause for this confusion has been the isolation of the left from the real conditions and concerns of most Americans. Hopefully, this poster will stimulate both further investigation and more focused political activity.

"THERE IS A CRIPPLING LACK OF INFORMATION NOT ONLY IN THE PUBLIC AT LARGE BUT AMONG STUDENTS OF ECONOMICS WITH REGARD TO SOME OF THE BASIC FACTS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THIS ATTRACTIVE POSTER GOES A LONG WAY TOWARD REMEDYING THAT DEFICIENCY. I AM HAPPY TO RECOMMEND IT WHOLE-HEARTEDLY AS A TEACHING ADJUNCT."

— Robert Heilbroner

The poster measures 35" x 45" and uses eight colors to represent occupation and labor force status. Different figures are used to portray husband/wife couples, single people, and single heads of household. Household figures show what each member does and are placed on the poster according to their 1978 annual income. An accompanying 40 page booklet gives the detailed methodological and statistical information.

The price is \$5.00 for the poster, and \$2.00 for the booklet; (each order should include \$1.00 for postage and handling). Bulk and institutional rates are available for classroom use, and the poster is also available as a mounted full-color transparency for overhead projectors. (The poster is very useful at the high school and introductory college levels.)

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## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## THE PRESS

## The news: who, what, when, where, why, how

By David Moberg

**W**HEN THEY'RE BACKED into a corner, journalists—or their publishers—turn radical democrat. The ghost of John Peter Zenger is hailed out. And Jefferson is applauded again for his choice of newspapers without government over government without newspapers. It would seem that the press—including its gossip columns, its dutiful summaries of official government views, its TV “happy talk” and handsome news presenters—is the “people’s tribune” against the abuses of the powerful.

The dissenter’s vision is of the press as the mainstay of the established order, collaborator with rulers of government and titans of industry in behalf of an undemocratically defined “national interest,” and systematic purveyor of a fragmentary but powerful ideology that undermines expression of the popular will.

Both views are true. Neither is adequate. Two recent books help us understand the influential, ill-examined cultural category of “news.” Michael Schudson takes the social historical perspective in his stimulating, tightly packed *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (Basic Books, \$12.95). Herbert Gans focuses on contemporary national news purveyors (*Time*, *Newsweek* and the CBS and NBC nightly news)

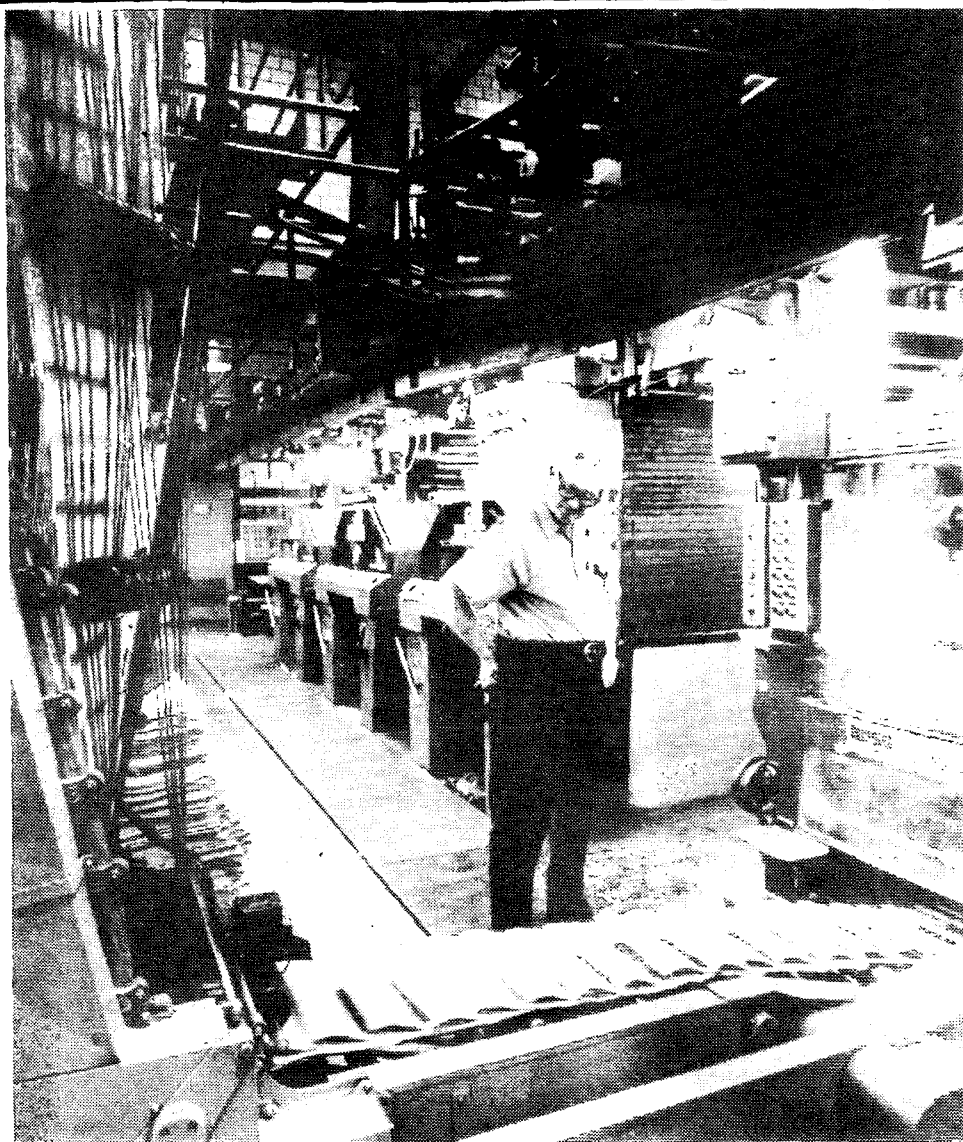
to show how they consciously and not-so-consciously engage in *Deciding What’s News* (Pantheon, \$12.95). Both books help define the character of American democracy—truly democratic in many ways and simultaneously highly undemocratic.

## Market makes newspapers.

The “news” was invented in the Jacksonian era, Schudson argues, when with the penny press “the newspaper reflected [for the first time] not just commerce or politics but social life... not the affairs of an elite in a small trading society, but the activities of an increasingly varied, urban, and middle-class society of trade, transportation and manufacturing.” The rise of a “democratic market society,” Schudson argues, created the modern newspaper.

Even at its birth, the contradictions of the new democracy were expressed through the news. Although the Jacksonian era was democratic in its reaction against older aristocratic patterns, it was undemocratic in the ascendancy to power of the new class of businessmen. The market was more democratic than a system of inherited statuses, but it also created a new oligarchy. It fostered a culture that encouraged widespread middle-class political participation and newspaper readership. But that new middle class turned its support to a kind of newspaper that worked against popular democracy.

The news came first, the reporter later.



Steve Kogan

He was invented during the 1880s and 1890s, Schudson maintains. He was the vehicle of a new progressive ideology of realism and photographic observation of a disenchanted world of facts. Some newspapers—particularly the *New York Times*, which was wooing an educated middle-class audience—developed an “information ideal” that contrasted with the “story ideal” of the papers that appealed to workers and the less-educated middle class.

The information ideal “adapted to the life experience of persons whose position in the social structure gave them the most control over their own lives.” By

contrast, the story ideal “framed” the facts, giving a narrative order but otherwise playing on the sense of unpredictability of a world inhabited by the dependent and powerless.

The modern ideal of “objectivity” emerged later, Schudson says, as a response to new doubts, not only about the feasibility of democracy but also about the availability of incontrovertible “facts” from observation. The emergence of public relations and the beginnings of news management occasioned a demand for methods of interpreting the facts that could make the news believable. “Professionalism” and “scientific method” were prescribed.

But the new objectivity was still distorted: loaded with political assumptions, biased toward a narrow presentation of facts without context, favoring official viewpoints in the process of news-gathering, as Schudson describes it.

## Public symbols.

Gans confirms much of that criticism, fleshing it out with detail based on his study of the national newsmagazines and TV. They are themselves a relatively recent phenomenon and reflect the creation of a nation through management of public symbols.

Conflict stories dominate the news, which in turn celebrates a triumphal return to order of the right-liberal, left-conservative “moderate core,” in Gans’ words. Routine activities of the most famous, most national, highest-ranking officials and some celebrities may be news, but “unknowns” usually make the news only when they disturb the “upper middle class” order of the journalists.

Although commercial considerations and presumed audience desires are taken into account, Gans believes that the character of the news is primarily influenced by the sources, who have the power to give and take away news from the hungry repertorial hordes.

Although he may underestimate the censorship pressures within the news operations, he is correct in emphasizing that the primary self-censorship consists of staying within some broad (but not unrestrained) boundaries associated with the “enduring values.” These persisting values include ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism, small-town pastoralism, individualism, moderation and—above all—social order and national leadership.

## Interview with Herbert Gans



*To what extent do you think the press helps to maintain class dominance in this country?*

There is a tension between the press wanting to pay respect to authority and the press wanting to reform. That also gives it its autonomy and power. Reporters are always looking for an expose, and if you make a wrong step, they’ve got you. That’s the autonomous power of the press.

The press continually fights for its freedom. They see how far they can go, but in their ideas they are very conventional people. If a committed socialist came to them, they’d say it wasn’t possible to hire him. They’d say, “We need people who are flexible, who can always find the big story of the day, and ideological commitments get in the way.” We—you and I—live in a very ideological world, but for them it’s just the opposite.

*Your book suggested that the news media*

*acts like a governor on the system with its ideology that you identified as drawn from the Progressive era.*

I get uncomfortable with left-wing functionalism, because I’m not sure there is a system. I’m not sure it’s all that predictable and all that worked out. The press has these reform values, values of the watchdog. They’re totally unconscious values. They’re not out to save the system; they don’t see a system.

Perhaps the latent functions are to fine-tune the system. Watergate revelations did that. But that makes it seem too deterministic. If the Nixon people had played things a little smarter, they could have made an end run around those reformers.

The press does act as symbol-maker for the professional upper middle class. But they don’t know any big corporate executives. Their feelings about big businessmen are not all that positive, but they accept the system. They’re concerned with efficiency, effectiveness—if some other system works better, fine, we’ll try that one. Journalists don’t go for proposed but untried schemes.

Journalists themselves are on the inside. They don’t even know there is the dominant view. They only see how they differ from the other magazine or network. They don’t feel they’re dominant.

*If there is no system—or at least not a very tight one—how would you characterize the importance of the press?*

Politicians need the news because it’s their communication channels. The sources—the politicians—need the news most. The news most of us need most directly

every day is the weather report, because it gives us some notion of how to dress. If you work in a steel factory, then news about your factory is particularly important. News about the steel industry may or may not be relevant to your factory. And it’s very hard to make the international market in steel appear very relevant to many people.

That’s one reason why the news has to be dramatic. This is the problem of the journalist, to make the news relevant to this spread-out audience. For national news the President becomes the basis.

*If people aren’t very interested in the news, what does this say about your proposal for “multiperspectivism”?*

The multiperspectival thing is like equality: you can’t get to it but the closer you get the better. The more diversity of sources and ideologies you get the better, the more news media the better. IN THESE TIMES is a model of what you can do—it doesn’t take too much money—and there ought to be more.

*How do you think the press should be organized in a democratic socialist society?*

Whenever anyone gets into power, then the press becomes the enemy. If you have a socialist society, the press will be an enemy, regardless of ideology. Either you have a government press—which I find unacceptable—or else you recognize that these guys in the press won’t always do what you want them to do and may be out to make you look foolish. Then the impulse is to get rid of them. It’s true of every politician.

—David Moberg

Continued on page 22.



## »SPORTSCENE«

## SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS



The international uproar caused this winter by Kallie Knoetze (right, losing a fight to U.S. boxer John Tate) illustrates the politics of South African sports.

Blacks used to sit in segregated areas of the grandstands, and cheer for the other side.

tional soccer federation.

Black soccer was divided into two major leagues, the militant South African Soccer Federation (SASF), which took an outspoken anti-apartheid stance, and the more restrained National Professional Soccer League (NPSL). An observer explained, "The authorities realized they would have to change, so they followed the classic 'de-colonization' strategy and transferred power to the more moderate group." White clubs joined the NPSL, big financial sponsors got behind it, and many SASF clubs even defected to the larger league.

In cricket, blacks can now qualify for both provincial and national teams, even though few are interested in the sport. A fact-finding mission from international cricket is due here later this year to consider South Africa's bid to re-affiliate. The mission may want to let the country back in, but it might well be deterred by the possibility of then losing India, Pakistan and the West Indies, all cricket powerhouses, and all likely to be influenced by the new, hardened view that apartheid itself—not its manifestations in a particular sport—is the central issue.

## Olympic lust bends apartheid

By Our South African Correspondent

South African reaction to the U.S. effort to deny boxer Kallie Knoetze permission to fight in Miami followed a predictable pattern. The white community joined in an almost universal chorus of outrage. Blacks applauded the American effort, since Knoetze was a former policeman who had shot and seriously wounded a 15-year-old black student. Simultaneously, and with less publicity, the country's boxing board announced that henceforth there would be a single South African champion in each weight division, ending the previous system of separate white and black title-holders who then fought it out for the overall crown.

This pattern of compromise has proceeded in recent years to the point where sport is easily the least segregated area of South African life. The change has been brought about by a dedicated band of black and white South Africans, most of whom have been forced into exile, who fought for years and finally succeeded in ostracizing the apartheid regime from the Olympics and other international sports bodies.

To get back in, South Africa has been compromising furiously—but that may not be enough.

The international boycott has deeply wounded white South Africans, who are arguably the most sports-minded people in the world. The combination of a pleasant climate, plenty of leisure time (blacks do all the manual work), and a cult of the "body beautiful" not distant from Nazism has created a nation of fanatical spectators and participants.

Also, as black poet and sports activists Dennis Brutus, who lives in exile and teaches at Northwestern University, has said, "They have no art, no literature, no ballet—all they have is sport." (Brutus was shot and imprisoned by the regime for his efforts before he left in the middle '60s.)

The sports pages of South African newspapers are full of yearning, retrospective accounts of past victories—the 1966-67 cricket tour, when South Africa hosted and trounced the once-mighty Australians, or the 1952 rugby tour of Europe, highlighted by the 44-0 massacre of Scotland. (In those days, blacks used to attend the international matches, sit in a segregated section of the grandstands—and cheer as loud as they could for South Africa's opponents.) Today, although individual sportsmen participate overseas, as a country South Africa can compete against only Rhodesia.

### Politics and sport.

At the time of the Knoetze imbroglio, many whites whined that politics and sport should not be mixed, ignoring that the apartheid regime itself started the mixing in the first place.

There was the case of the cheerful black weightlifter from Cape Town with the improbable name of Precious MacKenzie, to whom the white authorities promised an equal chance to make the 1964 Olympic team. MacKenzie won his weight class in the trials, but was still denied a place. He would have been the first black in South African Olympic history.

Using the case as part of a mass of evidence, Dennis Brutus and other activists successfully pressed for South Africa's suspension from the Games and later expulsion from the Olympic governing body. MacKenzie emigrated to England, and later won an Olympic gold medal for his new country.

Basil D'Oliveira, a black cricketer who was also from the Cape, emigrated to England as well and was selected for the British team slated to tour South Africa in 1968. Then-prime minister John Vorster argued that D'Oliveira had been picked to embarrass South Africa, and refused him a visa. In protest, Britain called off the tour, and South Africa was later expelled from the international cricket governing body.

Sewsonkar "Papwa" Sewgolum, an Indian golfer, won renown internationally before he was allowed to participate in white tournaments at home: one year he won the Durban Open, but he had to be awarded his prize outside, in a drenching rainstorm, because he had no permit to enter the clubhouse.

The harassment of multi-racial sport has declined markedly in recent years, but it still exists. Dan "Cheeky" Watson, a rising star in white rugby, joined Kwa-Ru, a black rugby team in Port Elizabeth, two years ago, giving up a

lucrative career in the process. Watson became a folk-hero to blacks, but incurred the enmity of the government, which has arrested him on several occasions for entering black areas without the proper permit.

### Soccer and cricket.

Generally, blacks follow rugby and cricket with only moderate interest, but are fanatics about soccer. Until two years ago, black and white leagues were completely separate, which had caused the country's suspension and then expulsion from FIFA, the interna-

## BASKETBALL

## NBA play-offs finally end

By Mark Naison

After another interminable season (September through June) that managed to quench the enthusiasm of even die-hard basketball fans, the Seattle SuperSonics won the NBA title decisively by beating the Washington Bullets four games to one.

Fans not put off by CBS' absurd scheduling (most games were shown at 11:30 Eastern time) and Brent Mussberger's insipid microphone work were treated to team basketball at its best. The Sonics and the Bullets were well-coached, disciplined units that worked hard for their shots, played tough, physical defense and got excellent position under the boards.

The series proved an aging athlete's delight. Several of the most effective players on both teams—Fred Brown, Paul Silas, Wes Unseld and John Johnson—would be laughed at in many schoolyards if they showed up incognito. With their 35-year-old bodies and faces to match, these veterans seem to represent the antithesis of the modern basketball player. They can't run, they can't

jump and they shoot layups rather than dunk shots when they're close to the basket. But through guile, concentration and good court position, they continually "burn" younger players.

Unseld and Silas, their muscles hidden under a comfortable layer of padding, used their bulk to punish the men they were guarding and had an uncanny ability to grab rebounds away from much quicker and more agile players. Fred Brown gave the Sonics bursts of instant offense by throwing up shots from every angle and position, using touch and deception to compensate for his lack of spring. And John Johnson, inconspicuous on offense, held the Bullets' high scorer, Bobby Danbridge, to far below his average by denying him the ball and refusing to fall for his fakes.

But though the play of these veterans was inspiring to watch, it was the speed, shooting, and defensive prowess of the young Seattle guards, Gus Williams and Dennis Johnson, and the rebounding and shooting of their center, Jack Sikma, that gave the Sonics the edge. Johnson and Williams provided the best one-two back

court punch in a championship series since Frazier and Monroe performed their magic for the 1973 Knicks. Sikma, despite absorbing a fearful battery from Unseld, shot effectively from the outside and dominated the defensive boards.

Injuries had some impact on the series. Mitch Kupchak, the Bullets' combative substitute center, was out with a back injury, depriving them of much needed hustle. With Kupchak out, Unseld had to carry his 300-pound bulk through 40 minutes a game, and he seemed thoroughly worn out by the fifth game of the series.

However, Kupchak's absence doesn't diminish the brilliance of the Sonics' accomplishment. A marvelously coached team that blended the skills of young players and veterans, they played with enthusiasm and intelligence.

It's too bad so few people bothered to watch them. Let's hope the NBA can inject some sanity into its scheduling (how about playoffs in March rather than June?) and get announcers who are more representative of the "city game" than Brent Mussberger and Hot Rod Hundley.



## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## MUSIC

## New Orleans festival celebrates jazz heritage

By David Feld

The Big Chief of the Yellow Jackets, in a sparkling full-length feathers - and - beads robe with matching headdress, lets out a cry: "Mighty Kooon Flyo." Other members of the tribe, wearing equally flamboyant costumes, respond with tambourines and congas, shouting back, "Beh yah yay, beh yah yay." A basic rhythm is laid down and the Yellow Jackets begin the prayer song, *Indian Red*: "We're the Indians of the nation/The wide, wild creation/We won't kneel down/Not on the ground/Oh how I love to hear them call my Indian Red."

What's unusual about this "tribe" of Indians is that it's composed of black men from the heart of New Orleans. This joining of American Indian and African elements into a new urban synthesis is unique in America.

For the past decade, the people of lower Louisiana have celebrated their music, cuisine, and crafts at the annual New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival, which recently observed its tenth anniversary. The Festival was founded in 1970 by Quint Davis, son of a wealthy New Orleans industrialist. Davis' goal was to reinstitute the outdoor social gatherings that were so important to the development of the city's music. The site chosen was Congo Square, where the slaves of early New Orleans congregated on Sundays to practice their religion and dances.

In previous years, the Festival took place over a ten-day period, with the outdoor Heritage Fair presented on each of succeeding three-day weekends and big-name concerts each week night. This year, the Festival expanded to nearly three weeks of indoor and outdoor events. It's been moved to the Louisiana State Fairgrounds and, with Schlitz funding behind it, is available to many for a low admission price.

**Big names.**

The evening concerts, geared more toward tourists and sporting steep admissions, present nationally-known musicians. This year the "Opening Night Benefit Gala" on April 20 featured Ella Fitzgerald with the New Orleans Philharmonic. Other traditional jazz artists in this series included Teddy Wilson, Percy Humphrey's Preservation Hall Jazz Band (one of several), 96-year-old Eubie Blake and Earl "Fatha" Hines. One of the more unusual and inspired groupings joined Olatunji (who has gone from traditional African music to a kind of Afro pop), Dizzy Gillespie, and Sun Ra.

This last concert took place on the S.S. *President*, a large steamer that chugs up the Mississippi while the music plays. It too was a re-creation of jazz's early days. The riverboat series is inaugurated each year with an evening of local rhythm and blues headlined by Allen Toussaint, the legendary producer / songwriter of many



New Orleans r&b hits. Toussaint is revered by New Orleans audiences, even though his performances are Las Vegas-styled pabulum. He was joined this year by the Meters, a hard-edged funk band, and Clifton Chenier, the great zydeco accordion master.

The night following this "Fire on the Bayou" cruise was the "Blues Boat Boogie" with Bobby Blue Bland, Etta James, Professor Longhair, and the Buddy Guy/Junior Wells Band. Two nights later, a Sunday, the "first Annual Gospel Boatride" featured the Dixie Hummingbirds, the Violinaires and the Zion Harmonizers. This music forms the core of modern soul.

On weekends at the fairgrounds one is immersed in the rich and diverse cultures of lower Louisiana. From ten stages come the continuous sounds of various folk musics. At five food tents, one can sample the cuisine of the area—gumbo, jambalaya, boudin, cochon de lait. Thirteen craft tents display all sorts of wares; an increasing number present traditional crafts of local Indians, farmers, and urban blacks. Following a dispute over the participation of black craftspeople, a separate area, called Koindu, has been established to showcase Afro-American arts.

**Cajuns, blacks and Indians.**

From out in the bayous come Cajun bands. The Cajuns were originally residents of Nova Scotia (now Acadia). When the British took control of the island in the 18th century, they sought shelter in New Orleans, then a French colony.

The city's aristocratic rulers refused entry to the largely peasant immigrants, however, and the Acadians were forced to settle in the nearby bayous. Today, their music remains alive, ranging from the traditional fiddle-and-accordion sounds of Dewey Balfa (whose musician brothers Will and Rodney recently died in an accident) and Sady Courville to the rock-based flair of the "ragin' Cajun," Doug Kershaw.

A fair number of runaway slaves settled among the Cajuns and developed a Black-French cultural mix. Known as black Ca-

juns, their music is the bluesy zydeco. The more traditional end of the spectrum is exemplified by the venerable Bois Sec Ordoine, and the more modern wing is led by Clifton Chenier. Chenier's Red Hot Louisiana Band includes tenor saxophone, drums, and electric bass in its tougher, Chicago-influenced sound.

Other escaped slaves lived with Louisiana's Indian tribes. Following Emancipation, many returned to New Orleans to live as free citizens. But after the overthrow of Reconstruction in 1876, blacks were forbidden to express their traditional culture. In response, many of those who had lived with Indians adopted their speech and clothing. In the 1880s, the first Mardi Gras parade of black Indians was held.

Today's black Indian tribes serve as links to the past. During their Sunday practices, a large chorus of "second-liners" responds to the Big Chief's call. The repeated catch phrases—"Jock-a-mo feena hey," "Taway pocky way," "Handa wanda no wanna"—are trans-sensical remnants of African and native liturgies. (They can be heard in various New Orleans rhythm-and-blues songs like the Meters' "Hey Pocky A-Way," the Dixie Cubs' "Iko Iko," and James Booker's "Hey Now.")

Each year, the Indians prepare elaborate and beautiful costumes of various colors. Early on Mardi Gras morning, the tribe gathers and parades along an annual route. They come out again on only two occasions—St. Joseph's Day (taken over as a traditional holiday) and the Jazz Festival. It is not uncommon to see three or four generations performing together.

African and Caribbean beats form the base of New Orleans rhythm and blues, with various jazz and boogie-woogie styles laid on top. The fusion of these elements into a coherent whole was first achieved by Professor Longhair, dean of New Orleans rhythm and blues. His experiments in the early post-war years led directly to the infectious rolling beats of Fats Domino, Huey "Piano" Smith ("Rockin' Pneumonia," "Sea Cruise"), Earl



Tuts Washington (above); Professor Longhair, his student and dean of New Orleans rhythm-and-blues (left).

The sounds of rhythm-and-blues, gospel and zydeco float from different stages, while food and crafts tents also display Louisiana's rich cross-cultural folk traditions.

King, Roy Brown ("Good Rockin' Tonight") and many others.

The current generation of musicians, including Toussaint, the Meters, and the Neville Brothers (who are related to the Wild Tchoupitoulas, the best-known Indian tribe) are also indebted to the good professor. Longhair closed the Festival with an exquisite set of rich, joyous music.

Another music of celebration, gospel, is heard continuously at a large tent set aside for that purpose. It is often the hottest spot at the fairgrounds, with the audience once again joining in the ecstasy. A jazz tent presents New

Orleans' large community of jazz artists—the big brass bands, traditional "Dixieland" ensembles, and contemporary musicians.

One particularly exciting program was billed as the "New Orleans Piano Masters," featuring Tuts Washington (Longhair's teacher), r&b favorite James Booker, classical jazzman Ellis Marsalis, and pop stylist Willie Tee.

Before Willie Tee began his segment, he paid tribute to the older pianists. The Piano Masters set provided a key to the continued strength of indigenous music in New Orleans: a respect for tradition.

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## TELEVISION

## Syndicated pablum

By Al Auster &amp; Len Quart

Former FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson once said that "All TV is educational TV." His remark wasn't so far off base when you realize that by the time American children are 15 they've already logged, on an average, 15,000 hours in front of their TV sets, compared to 12,000 hours in school. However, aside from the PBS programs (*Electric Company*, *Mister Rogers Neighborhood*) there is very little offered to those in the school years and pre-teens.

This is a real switch from the '50s when, whatever their quality, there were: *Howdy Doody*, *Kukla, Fran and Ollie*, *Mr. Wizard*, *Lucky Pup*, *Captain Video*, *Juvenile Jury* and the *Mickey Mouse Club*.

Our children are still watching. What do they watch? Re-runs. Tune in any day from approximately 3:00 p.m. until the six o'clock news (and even into prime time) and you can relive every major moment in TV history, from the birth of "Little Ricky" to Rhoda's wedding day. Re-runs are the most lucrative form of programming in television, with upwards of \$200 million dollars spent on second-hand television shows every year.

Ever since 1957, when CBS learned that the audience would watch re-runs of *I Love Lucy*, the networks have been piling on re-runs. Recently a new wrinkle



*The Brady Bunch smile perpetually to the afternoon TV watchers.*

was added to the re-run, or syndication, business. In the past a show didn't get into re-runs until it had died in prime time. Then, if there were enough episodes, it was sold into syndication to local and independent TV stations. So back in 1967 when *I Love Lucy* went up for grabs to local stations, WNEW in New York spent \$770,000 for 179 episodes. However, last August few-

er than 140 episodes of *Laverne and Shirley*, still going strong on ABC, got an estimated \$8 million from KTLA in Los Angeles.

The reason for the high price was that shows are now being sold into syndication even while they are still on TV. However, even though prices have begun to skyrocket, it is still cheaper for a local station to buy a syndicated show than to produce its own. As a result, re-runs are the prime after school entertainment for our children.

Although the *Lucy* shows are popular (and there are 20 years of *Lucy* to choose from), it is not the most popular. That distinction belongs to *The Brady Bunch*. The *Bunch*, which ran on ABC from 1969 to 1974, has an approximate daily TV audience of about 11 million.

*The Brady Bunch* concerns a widower and architect, Mike Brady (Robert Reed) with three dark-haired sons, a dog and a housekeeper named Alice (Anne B. Davis), who marries a widow, Carol (Florence Henderson) with three "golden-haired" girls, and a cat.

The Bradys live in a large, comfortable ranch house in an anonymous, upper middle class, hermetically sealed Southern California suburb. They are a perky, wholesome brood, and the show never allows the order of their or the audience's world to be threatened. The Bradys do have personal problems. They get swelled heads, become insensitive, feel

envious and insecure, and have dreams and desires that can't be fulfilled.

*The Brady Bunch* never allows for any hint of tragedy or even of an insoluble problem on its neat, antiseptic landscape. For the Bradys, all pain and anguish can be vitiated by warm, unruffled parents, loving, supportive siblings and a housekeeper who can both be a substitute parent and comic relief. The program skillfully packages its values and morals to its pre-teen audience, pro-

moting virtues like honesty, tolerance and sportsmanship (attempting to put a mild rein on its excesses), and telling the kids "Sometimes when you lose, you win."

*The Brady Bunch* has more craft and intelligence than many other children's shows, but it's so clean and complacent that one hungers for something subversive or perverse to sneak into the scripts. Of course, this would no longer be a cute Hollywood sitcom, but it would be genuinely "educational TV."

## News

Continued from page 19.

"It would be fair to say that the news supports the social order of public, business and professional, upper-middle-class, middle-aged, and white male sectors of society," Gans writes. The leadership it advances and tests is designed for that order. But the journalistic "paraideology"—a term Gans uses to suggest it is not systematic—is not simply a ratification of the dominant class. It is a reformist relic of the Progressive era, in its espousal of his list of enduring values.

The news media provide political feedback for officials, guard public morality (of a sort), tell stories, distribute power, help to control society and even act as prophets and priests, Gans writes.

Above all, they create symbols for our nation and society. Much of that is done without deliberate manipulation. That is what makes it so effective. The press has a great degree of formal autonomy. Yet it is constrained within certain broad cultural boundaries.

Most journalists are not conscious of the history and the class

conflict that underlie their dominant assumptions about news, objectivity, professionalism and the role of the "fourth estate." Consequently, most of them are unaware of how deeply ideological their daily work is. Such ignorance eases their work, and it strengthens the hand of the news media in constructing our image of the social world.

How to make the press in the U.S. more democratic? Schudson sees some hope in the '60s "adversary culture," which was extremely self-conscious about the process of reporting. Gans offers a useful liberal solution that nevertheless looks utopian. He advocates a "multi-perspectival" range of news media with minority views, relegated to a lower "tier" of outlets that would only marginally contest the cultural dominance of the major media.

The press will only be as democratic as the society is. "News" in the future will be as much a reflection of and reaction to the distribution of power in society as it has been in the past and as it is today. New forms of democracy, extending and going beyond those we now enjoy, will necessitate new conceptions not only of the organization of newsgathering operations, but also of the news itself and the values it assumes.

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# FILM FESTIVAL



By Ruth McCormick

The Cannes Film Festival is the biggest and most varied of its kind in the world—an immense sales conference for the motion picture industry, set in an idyllic town on the French Riviera. Hollywood moguls mix with young penniless would-be directors and writers. Serious film students hang around the beach front, with no less dedicated celebrity hunters. Parties abound. A few are for the press, and many more are for film buyers from all over the world.

The 1979 festival was unusually interesting. Some press conferences were shows themselves. Veteran progressive director Martin Ritt explained his problems with the blacklist and with the Hollywood money men, and discussed the possibility of infusing political conscience into popular films.

Roman Polanski announced the completion of his first film in four years, based on Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. He claimed his choice of subject matter, the destruction of an innocent woman by the hypocrisy of Victorian England, had been determined by the murder of his wife and by what he feels was unfair treatment he received at the hands of the U.S. press following his own conviction on morals charges. He would, he said, return to the U.S. to face trial, and is hopeful that "despite the press" he will receive justice.

Francis Coppola, who with *Apocalypse Now* was the star of Cannes, also excoriated the U.S. press, calling it "decadent" and untruthful in its coverage of his film and its cost. Even at an admitted \$31 million budget, he argued, why should it, a film about morality, be attacked? Similar amounts, he pointed out, are spent on stories about "giant gorillas, fairy tales and jerks who fly around in the sky."

He also indicted *Daily Variety*, the Hollywood trade paper, for reviewing the film on the basis of the film-in-progress' May 11 previews in Hollywood. The media had promised not to review the film before its release. (*Variety* responded in the May 30 issue that it had waited until Rona Barrett broke her promise by effectively reviewing the film on *Good Morning, America*.)

At the conference for Werner Herzog's *Woyzeck*, vitriolic actor Klaus Kinski expressed in colorful expletives his own contempt for press people who ask "stupid questions," like, "Why do you always play such negative roles?"

David Bennent, 12, lead in the German film *TIN DRUM* (above); Sally Field, best actress for her part in *NORMA RAE*, and Jack Lemmon, best actor for *CHINA SYNDROME* (above right); Captain Kurtz hide-out from *APOCALYPSE NOW* (right).

# CANNES

There was more ballyhoo for *Love at First Bite* than for Golden Palm winner *Apocalypse Now*.



Klaus Kinski in Werner Herzog's *WOYZECK*.

(He doesn't.) And "Why does Herzog always make historical films?" (He doesn't either.)

Finally, Jerry Lewis announced his first film in many years, *Hardly Working*, mentioned other upcoming projects and promised that none of them would be based on the Vietnam war.

## Art and awards.

There were an unusually large number of good films, many based on literary works. And the U.S., represented this year by progressive and intelligent films, walked away with the lion's share of the prizes. Coppola's much-awaited *Apocalypse Now*, not even a final version, won both the Golden Palm and the International Federation of Film Journalists' award for Best Picture. Best Actor and Best Actress went to Jack Lemmon for *The China Syndrome* and to Sally Fields for *Norma Rae*.

Terrence Malick was named best director for *Days of Heaven*; the Grand Prize of the Commission Supérieure du Cinéma Français went to Martin Ritt for *Norma Rae*; and the Golden Camera award for the Directors' Fortnight was given to *Northern Lights*, a Cinemanifest production directed by John Hanson and Rob Nilsson. Milos Forman's *Hair* and Woody Allen's *Manhattan*, shown out of competition, were both very well received.

*Apocalypse Now*, of course, was the most talked about film. With his dramatic elan and gift for the operatic, Coppola has created a terrifying vision of the

Vietnam war. The plot framework was taken from Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, in which Marlow, a rootless steamship captain, is sent deep into the Congo to seek out Kurtz, a renegade trading company agent. Kurtz, he finds, has gone berserk and set up his own bloody dictatorship over a group of natives in the heart of the jungle.

In the film, Marlow becomes Captain B.L. Willard (Martin Sheen), an intelligence officer sent on a Navy gunboat up the Mekong River into Cambodia with orders to assassinate Col. Kurtz (Marlon Brando), who set up his own private army of Montagnard tribesmen. Willard is told that in the interests of the Army's saving face, his mission does not exist. His trip up the river is, like Conrad's, a descent into hell. U.S. atrocities are clearly delineated, and the corrupting power of war is increasingly uncovered.

Coppola's current and preferred ending differs from Conrad's, in which Marlow returns to confront and lie to Kurtz's "intended." As the film is now, Willard is left with a choice—whether to leave and confront Kurtz' family in a similar fashion or to remain, corrupted as he has become by war himself, to replace Kurtz. Whatever choice is made for the ending and whatever the film's faults, it is one of the most important American films in years.

Sharing the Golden Palm with *Apocalypse* was *The Tin Drum*, adapted from the Gunther Grass

novel by German director Volker Schlöndorff. *Tin Drum* also concerns moral choices and the corruptibility of the human spirit. Oskar (superbly played by 12-year-old David Bennent) is born in the free city of Danzig and does not know if he is the son of his mother's German husband or of her Polish lover. Turned off at the age of three by adults, the precocious Oskar wills himself to stop growing in order to remain a child forever. And he uses his toy tin drum to let his protest against the world be known. The Nazis come to power and are subsequently defeated, and Oskar finally faces the fact that he too must make moral choices or be counted as part of the world he rejects.

*The Tin Drum* is vivid and visually powerful. Schlöndorff creates a crazed world of banality and war as seen through the rebellious, critical eyes of a child.

*Northern Lights*, shot in North Dakota in a stark black and white (by Judy Irola) often reminiscent of Carl Dreyer, is a lively account told in flashbacks of a Swedish-American farmer's early life and troubles, his family and friends, and his membership in the Non-Partisan League, which fought for the rights of small settlers against big financial interests in the early part of the century.

## Prizes and porno.

At festivals like Cannes, the corporate establishment and its porno cousin exist alongside the independent anti-establishment, and very often critical prizewinners are

losers when it comes to finding distributors. There was more ballyhoo at Cannes for *Love at First Bite* than for *Apocalypse Now*. And it is understood that the latest *Emanuelle* film will sell for a higher price than the latest one by Wim Wenders.

Although publicity surrounded the fact that China participated in the festival for the first time, and that New German Cinema filmmakers have gained some commercial success, business triumphs centered on the American industry, which controls between 60 and 70 percent of the foreign market. Last year, Cannes featured a record number of film deals. This year's business was less diverse, with more deals focused on big budget enterprises. Big productions and high sales prices correspondingly limited smaller deals and independent distributors, possibly reinforcing a current trend in American films toward fewer, more expensive and simplistic entertainment films.

Many of the best pictures at Cannes, even those in competition, will hardly be seen outside their lands of origin, although exceptions exist. Tomas Gutierrez Alea's *The Survivors*, a black comedy about an aristocratic family's decision to stick it out in post-revolutionary Cuba, will be made available in the U.S. through Tri-continental Films. Werner Herzog's explosive, impressionistic version of *Woyzeck* will be distributed in this country by New Yorker Films, as will Reinhard Hauff's compelling *Knife in the Head* and all three of Fassbinder's latest films. We will eventually see *Orchestra Rehearsal*, Fellini's short and biting satire on humanity's inability to get together.

The USSR's entry, *Siberiade*, a beautifully photographed and well acted history of three generations of Siberian peasants, will probably pick up a U.S. distributor. But other much-admired films at the festival, like Poland's Andrzej Wajda's *Without Anesthesia*, Francesco Rossi's *Eboli*, Hungarian Pál Gabor's *Angi Vera* and Israeli feminist Michael Bat-Adam's *Moments* have little chance to be seen outside museums or festivals.

At this year's Cannes festival, however, an unusual number of mainstream American films touching on social themes were given deserved awards. Some have already achieved commercial success. This perhaps confirms Martin Ritt's optimistic feeling, which he voiced at a press conference, that well-made, social-issue films can be marketable. ■



# Cook your own goose.

*The City as Radarange*



By Jon Kalish

**W**HAT DO RADIO AND TV transmitters, airport radar, telephone relays, high voltage power lines, satellites, CB radios, anti-theft equipment in retail stores, and some military weapons have in common? They all give off microwave radiation, the same kind of radiation used to cook foods quickly in microwave ovens. Microwaves are low frequency waves on the other end of the electromagnetic spectrum from nuclear radiation and X-rays. Of course, like nuclear radiation and X-rays, microwaves can either pass through or deeply penetrate human tissue. But scientists have long considered microwaves, unlike nuclear radiation, benign.

Recently, though, evidence has begun to accumulate that, just as scientists in the '50s denied the existence of radiation sickness, they may now be wrong about microwave radiation. Some radar technicians exposed to microwaves have developed cataracts, blood disorders, and cardiovascular problems (See *ITT*, Feb. 28). Some animal fetuses exposed to microwaves develop birth defects. Some scientists think microwaves can cause genetic defects in humans; some think they can cause dizziness, headaches, irritability and loss of judgment. And, of course, cancer.

With scores of radio and TV stations, radar systems in three airports, and innumerable CB radios, anti-theft equipment, power lines and telephone relays, New York might be described as a giant microwave oven, with New Yorkers comprising the meal. But now, a proposal by Dr. Leonard Solon, head of the Health Department's Bureau of Radiation Control, could make New York the first municipality in the country to regulate microwave radiation.

## Limiting power.

The proposed regulation is strict. Under a proposed amendment of the city health code, microwave emissions could be limited to a power density of 50 microwatts per square centimeter. That's 20 times more restrictive than the recommended workplace exposure level set by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). But the OSHA level, 10,000 microwatts, is just a suggested maximum, not legally binding. And it's only for

work places. A radiation specialist from the Environmental Protection Agency says the OSHA level is inappropriate for the general population, but as yet the EPA hasn't come up with an appropriate level.

The city of New York began its examination of the microwave problem last October when the Board of Health opened a public hearing on the matter. That was during the newspaper strike, and the hearing was virtually ignored by the broadcast news media.

But the broadcast industry, one of the major opponents of the proposed regulation, was well aware of the hearing and accordingly well represented. Testifying on behalf of the TV Broadcasters All Industry Committee was Julius Cohn, a

While the city's bureaucracy plods onward, some residents of Staten Island have taken matters into their own hands. Staten Island has long been regarded as the city's environmental dumping ground. In the past, residents have protested the storage of liquified natural gas on the island and the State Power Authority's efforts to build a coal-fired power plant at Travis. Now Staten Islanders are raising barriers to two new microwave installations planned for the borough: the Coast Guard's plan to place a microwave system in Mariners Harbor and a broadcasters' scheme to erect a microwave tower in Clove Lakes Park.

The Coast Guard facility is part of its New York harbor vessel traffic service,



**"We don't know the long-term health effects."**

consulting engineer for radio and TV stations. Cohn said that if the proposed 50 microwatt limit were accepted, broadcasters would have to reduce their power to 10 percent of the present level. One and one-half million people, especially in Suffolk and Fairfield counties, would lose all reception, Cohn said, and everyone would suffer some loss of signal quality.

This loss of signal quality, Cohn stated, was "not supportable by evidence of biological hazard." He urged the board to wait for the federal government to take action.

"We're tired of waiting for the feds to do something," replied one board member. But city bureaucracy isn't necessarily faster acting than federal. In December, the Board of Health decided to defer action on Solon's proposal, pending further study by the board's radiation advisory committee. But the Board of Health has set no deadline for the committee to report. In addition, one key member of the committee, Dr. Merrill Eisenbud of NYU, testified at the October hearing that it would be illogical for each municipality to develop its own microwave standard. He asked the board to wait for federal standards.

which will beam TV pictures of the harbor to a control center on Governor's Island. The system is already 90 percent completed. Its only missing element is the Staten Island component.

Initially, the Coast Guard proposed putting the microwave tower in the affluent Todt Hill section of Staten Island, but residents of that community protested, Community Board No. 2 intervened, and eventually the Coast Guard abandoned the site.

Next the Coast Guard chose the top of Arlington Terrace, a 12-story apartment building in the less affluent section of Mariners Harbor. The Starret Corporation, which owns Arlington Terrace, gave the Coast Guard the go-ahead, but residents of the building threatened to cancel their leases if the system were built. Now the Coast Guard has chosen a third site, the Mariners Harbor Industrial Park. The Coast Guard has purchased 1,400 square feet of property in the park—where 800 people work in factories and warehouses—to erect the tower.

Some Staten Island residents are still angry about the Coast Guard's decision. One is Norman Berger, district manager of Community Board No. 1, which voted

against the industrial park site. Berger feels that the Coast Guard is circumventing the city's uniform land use review procedure.

"The board felt there was an alternative location," says Berger, "completely away from property owners. That was Shooters Island, which is owned by the city and would not endanger anyone. The island is presently uninhabited except for some birds."

But the Coast Guard is satisfied with the present site in the Mariners Harbor Industrial Park, and Commander William Leahey, senior official at the Coast Guard communication center on Governor's Island, says construction on the microwave system will begin "as soon as possible."

Although the Coast Guard thinks its system will have smooth sailing from here on out, that system still might not be built if Staten Island city councilman Anthony Giacobbe has his way. Giacobbe has asked the City Planning Commission to amend its zoning regulations so that any party that plans on using a microwave system must get the approval of the local community planning board. In a letter to Planning Commission chairman Robert Wagner Jr., Giacobbe offered 12 criteria to be considered in applications for microwave permits. Giacobbe wants applicants to prove that no other alternate transmitting methods, such as cables, are available.

"I'm not opposed to microwave systems," says the Staten Island councilman, "nor am I opposed to the Coast Guard's interest in a vessel traffic control system. But I am opposed to putting microwave emitting equipment in neighborhoods with high density populations, particularly when we don't know the long-term effects of microwave radiation."

## Health hazard?

Just what are the long-term effects of exposure to microwave radiation? Unfortunately, no definitive research has been done, which allows officials such as the Coast Guard's Leahey to argue that the microwave systems are innocent until proven guilty.

But more and more people are arguing the converse. Paul Brodeur, a staff writer at the *New Yorker* and author of *The Zapping of America*, a study of the biological effects of microwaves, thinks the proposed 50 microwatt limit is in the best tradition of preventive medicine.

"You never really know how to protect the general public until you know what has happened to the workers," Brodeur points out. "This was true in the whole asbestos affair. Once we knew that the workers were dying because of their exposure to asbestos, then the city moved to protect the public from lesser amounts of the carcinogen." Brodeur argues that it's better public health practice not to wait around for 20 or 30 years to prove that people are dying from cancer or blood disease.

Brodeur's point of view is catching on. Last spring District Council 20 of the Retail Clerks Union, which represents 85,000 workers in the New York-New Jersey area, passed a resolution declaring that no worker should be forced to endure exposure to microwaves at the workplace. What microwaves might you be exposed to if you sell cosmetics at Macy's, you ask? Just about every major department store in the metropolitan area uses microwave anti-theft systems.

Last December legislation was introduced in the Suffolk County legislature that would ban these systems. If the bill passes, it would be the first such action in the country.

But so far, as in the cases of the Suffolk legislature and the New York city council, much action has been proposed but little taken. Even the chairman of the city's Board of Standards and Appeal has asked Mayor Koch to declare a moratorium on microwave installations until the Health Department and the Planning Commission develop a microwave policy. Koch refused.

In the meantime, more microwave installations are on the way. The three commercial television networks, for example, are planning microwave links on Long Island to beam news reports into New York. And more and more people wonder whether New York's population isn't slowly cooking in the giant microwave oven that is New York City. ■